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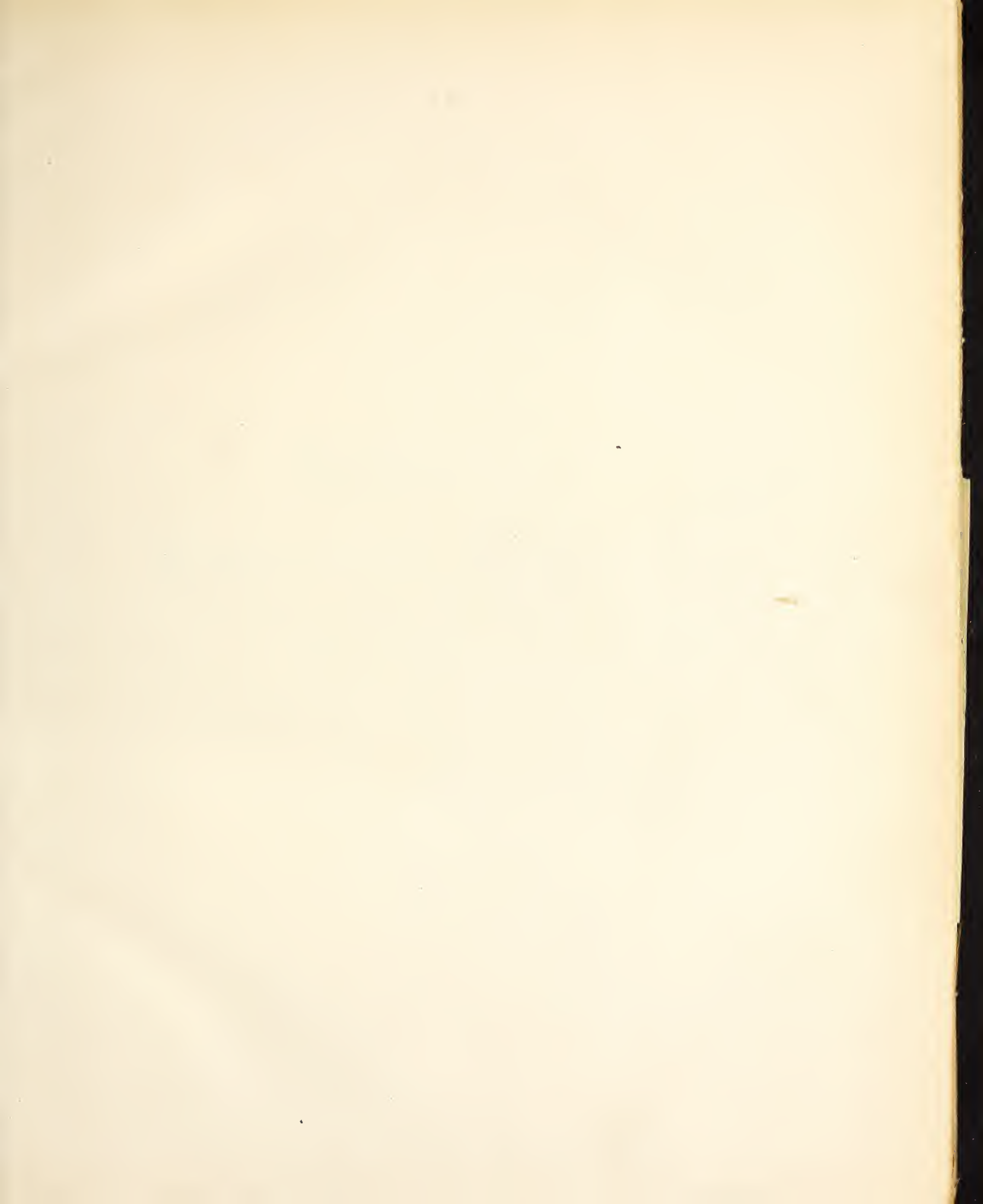
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Woodward's  
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No. IV.







THE  
HISTORY

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OF THE

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**Indian Wars in New England**

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FROM THE

FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE TERMINATION OF  
THE WAR WITH KING PHILIP, IN 1677.

FROM THE

**ORIGINAL WORK,**

BY THE

REV. WILLIAM HUBBARD.

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*Carefully Revised, and Accompanied with an Historical  
Preface, Life and Pedigree of the Author,*

AND

**Extensive Notes,**

By SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

VOL. II.

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A  
S U P P L E M E N T  
CONCERNING THE  
W A R R  
WITH THE  
P E Q U O D S .<sup>1</sup>



**R**EADER,  
*I Could willingly now have expected that my Indenture being cancelled, I might have had a Discharge from any further Labour of this Nature; but lest I be found to have falsified my Word passed in the Title of the Narrative, according to the Civilians Rule, Nihil dicitur factum quamdiu aliquid superest ad agendum; As also that other, Non absolutus est debitor qui multa reddit, sed qui omnia; being some Inti-*

<sup>1</sup> Giving a History of the Pequot War in this Work was unquestionably an After-thought of the Author; otherwise he would have placed it in its natural chronological Order, at the Beginning of the Volume.

*mation bath already been made of great Trouble with the Pequod Indians, at the first settling of the Plantations upon Connecticut River, that I may make even, though not over-measure, I shall in the last Place give this following Account thereof, left either under the Hands of such as commanded in Chief<sup>2</sup> in that Action, or from the Mouths of some faithful Witnesses, that were not only then present, but personally concerned and engaged in that Service.<sup>3</sup>*

There was a Nation of the *Indians* in the Southern Parts of *New-England*, called *Pequods*, seated on a fair navigable River, twelve Miles to the Eastward of the Mouth of the great and famous River of *Connecticut*; who (as was commonly reported about the Time when *New-England* was first planted by the English) being a more fierce, cruel, and warlike *People* than the Rest of the *Indians*, came down out of the more inland Parts of the Continent, and by Force seized upon one of the goodliest Places near the Sea,

<sup>2</sup> Hence the Author used Capt. Mason's Account, as will be seen more fully acknowledged further on. Dr. I. Mather also used Mason's Work, but as I have shown in my Edition of his *Relation*, his Copy of it was furnished by Mr. John Allen, the Secretary of Connecticut, as his own Work. Hence Dr. Mather was misled, and this accounts for some conflicting Statements of these Authors. From an unpublished Letter of Mr. Allen to Mr. Mather, dated September 17th, 1677, it appears that the *Relation*

was then published.

<sup>3</sup> As the Author was born fifteen Years before the Pequot War, he was cotemporary with all of the Actors in it; and was doubtless personally acquainted with Endicott, Trask, Underhill, Stoughton, Patrick, Davenport, &c., as also with the Connecticut Captains. It is therefore a contemporaneous History, and holds a Place of the first importance, with the personal Narratives of Mason, Underhill, Gardiner and Vincent. As to Letters concerning the War, few are extant.



and became a Terrour to all their [117] Neighbours, on whom they had exercised several Acts of inhuman Cruelty ; infomuch that being flushed with Victories over their Fellow-*Indians*, they began to thirst after the Blood of any Foreigners, English and Dutch, that accidentally came amongst them, in a Way of Trade, or upon other Accounts.

In the Year 1634, they treacherously and cruelly murdered Captain *Stone*, and Captain *Norton*, who came occasionally with a Bark into the River to Trade with them. Not long after, within the Compass of the next Year, they in like treacherous Manner slew one Mr. *Oldham* (formerly belonging to *New-Plimouth*, but at that Time an Inhabitant of the *Massachusetts*) at *Block-Island*, a Place not far from the Mouth of their Harbour, as he was fairly Trading with them : besides some other such like Acts of perfidious Cruelty towards some of the Dutch that had formerly been trading up *Connecticut River* ;<sup>4</sup> by which Practises

<sup>4</sup>I do not find any particular Details of the early Hostilities between the Dutch and the Pequots, referred to here. Nothing beyond what Winthrop has briefly noted in his Journal, from a Report of the Time, which amounted to this: Up to this Year the Pequots governed the Narragansets, but now (1634) the latter had rebelled or seceded, in consequence of which there was War between them; that the Pequots, having killed some Indians who were going to trade with the

Dutch at their Trading-house upon Connecticut River, and that in Retaliation the Dutch had killed their "old Sachem and some others of their Men." Hence, having cut themselves off from trade all around in that Region, they came to Boston to attempt to open a Traffic with the English. The Name of the old Pequot Sachem just mentioned was *Tatobam*, and *Sassacus* was his Successor. See *Winthrop*, i, 147; *Hist. and Antiqs. of Boston*, 179; O'Callaghan's *New Netherlands*,

perceiving that they began to stink in the Nostrils of their Neighbours, whose Revenge they now began to fear, and not willing to have to deal with too many Enemies at once, they imitated the Subtilty of the Children of *Ammon*, when they began to stink before *David*; endeavouring to strengthen themselves with Alliance of some of those they had formerly provoked, that by their Assistance they might defend themselves against the Rest, not doubting but to make their Part good with their foreign Enemies, if they could be reconciled to their *Indian* Neighbours, the *Narbagansets*; or Home-bred Enemies, if they could but fortifie themselves by a League of Friendship with any of their foreign Neighbours that were newly come to plant in these Parts. To this End they sent Messengers with Gifts to the *Massachusets* in the latter End of the same Year 1634,<sup>5</sup> the first Messengers were dismissed without an Answer: but they being sensible of their own Danger, and of the great Importance a Peace with the English of the *Massachusets*

157. Tatobam had sold the Land on the River to the Dutch, on which they erected a Trading house, which they named *Fort Hope*. *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Under Date Nov. 6th, 1634, Winthrop entered in his *Journal*, i, 147, "There came to the Deputy Governor [Mr. Roger Ludlow] about fourteen Days since, a Messenger from the Pekod Sachem, to desire our Friendship. He brought

two Bundles of Sticks, whereby he signified how many Beaver and Otter Skins he would give us for that End, and great Store of *Wampompeage* (about two Bushels, by his Description). He brought a small Present with him, which Mr. Ludlow received, and returned a Moose Coat of as good Value, and withal told him he must send some Persons of greater Quality, and then our Governor would treat with him."



might be, pursued the Business very earnestly, sending Messengers a second Time, who offered much *Wampam* (*Indians Money*) and Beaver; with these second Messengers the Governour and Council of the *Massachusetts* had much Conference many Days; and at last after the best Advice they could take amongst themselves, concluded a Peace and Friendship with them upon these Conditions:<sup>6</sup>

1. That they should deliver up to the English those Persons amongst them that were guilty of Captain *Stones* Death, and the Rest that were with him.

2. That if the English desired to plant in Connecticut they should give up their Right to them.

[118] 3. That the English should thenceforward Trade with them as their Friends, which was a chief Thing aimed at, the said *Pequods* being at that Time in War with the Dutch, and the Rest of their Neighbours, on the Reason forementioned; to these Conditions they readily agreed, and also cunningly insinuated their Desire that their new Confederates, the *Massachusetts*, should mediate Peace for them with the *Narbagansets*; intimating likewise their willingness that a Part of the Present which they promised to send, should be given to them; standing so much upon

<sup>6</sup> The Treaty appears to have been made on the 7th of November. I have not met with the Original, and Winthrop's Note of it is all we have, which is this:

"The Agreement they made with us was put in Writing, and the two Ambassadors set to their Marks. One a Bow with an Arrow in it, and the other Hand."

their Honour, that they would not be sent to give any thing themselves; such was the Pride and Height of Spirit lodged in this Company of treacherous Villains, the Dregs and Lees of the Earth, and Dross of Mankind.<sup>7</sup>

As for Capt. *Stone's* Death, they silyly evaded the Guilt of it, falsly adding that there were but two left that had a Hand therein, and that it was a just Quarrel wherein he was slain: for, said they, he surprized some of our Men, and would by Force have compelled them to shew him the Way up the River; whereupon the said *Stone* coming ashore, with two more, was watched by nine of our Men (say they) who finding them asleep in the Night, slew them to deliver our own Men, one of whom going afterward to the Barque, it was suddenly blown up. Whereas the Truth of the Matter was thus:<sup>8</sup>

The said Capt. *Stone* formerly belonging to *Christophers* in the *West Indies*, occasionally coming to these Parts, as he passed between this Place and *Virginia*, put in at that River, where the *Indians* after they had been often on board his Vessel to trade with him, at the last came friendly on Board as they used to do, but finding the Captain asleep in his Cabin, took the Opportunity to Murther him as he lay, casting a Covering over

<sup>7</sup> This seems quite too be-nighted, even for the Times of our Author, and but illy agrees with the Catholicity with which he is usually credited.

<sup>8</sup> This is abridged from Winthrop, *Journal*, i, 148, which answered very well for that Time, but is not satisfactory now. See Mather's *Relation*, 114, &c.



him that he might not be discerned by the Rest, whom they presently after dispatched one after another, all but Capt. *Norton*, who made stout Resistance, for a long Time defending himself in the Cook-room of the Bark, till the Gun-powder which he had set in an open Vessel; to be more ready for his Use, accidentally took Fire, by which fatal Accident he was so burned, and his Eyes so blinded, that he could not make any longer Resistance, but forthwith fell into the Hands of these cruel and blood-thirsty Wretches, who after they had taken away his Life, made a Prey of all that was in the Vessel.<sup>9</sup>

As for Mr. *Oldham* he was indeed Murthered at an Island called by the *Indians* *Maniffes* (since known among the English by the Name of Block-Island) but those that murthered him (probably Inhabitants of the said Island) fled presently to the *Pequods*, by whom they were sheltered, and [119] so became also Guilty themselves of his Blood, which ere long was revenged by them, as is in the next Place to be declared.<sup>10</sup>

The English of the *Massachusetts* after the Peace concluded with the *Pequods*, sent a Bark

<sup>9</sup> It would have been far more satisfactory if the Author had told us on what Evidence this Statement rests. It was not an English Statement, for all the English knowing to the Facts were killed. The Information came most probably from the *Narragansets*, their Enemies. Yet it is quite likely true as we have it, but it can never be entirely sat-

isfactory to the Inquirer. Dr. Mather says, that with Norton and Stone "all their Ship's Company were barbarously murdered." *Relation*, 112.

<sup>10</sup> Besides what is contained here respecting Capt. Oldham's Murder, see Cobbet's Narrative in *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Regr.*, vii, 211-12.

thither for Trade, that Trial might be made of the Reality of their Friendship; but they found them Treacherous and False, and that no Advantage was to be had by any Commerce with them, insomuch as they took up a Resolution never more to have to do with them; which the said *Indians* perceiving, made no Account of the former Peace, but took all Advantage to do us Mischief, not only by harbouring those who had murdered Mr. *Oldham*,<sup>11</sup> but surprizing many of the English in the Year 1636, when *Connecticut River* began first to be planted, divers of whom were killed (nine<sup>12</sup> at one Time in *April* 1637.) by them about *Wethersfield*, when the Plantation then first began, so as they could not pass up and down the River without a Gaurd, but they would be in Danger of being cut off, or carried away, as two Maids were said to be;<sup>13</sup> thirty Men have been killed by them in all; those who fell into their Hands alive, were cruelly tortured after a most barbarous Manner, by insulting over their Prisoners in a blasphemous Wise, when in their dying Agonies, under the Extremity of their Pains (their Flesh being first slashed with Knives, and then filled with burning Embers) they called upon God and Christ with gasping Groans, re-

<sup>11</sup> The real Murderers, at least one of them, named *Audjah*, were afterwards discovered, but whether taken and punished, does not appear. See Mather, *Relation*, 149.

<sup>12</sup> Six Men and one Woman

were killed, and two Girls carried off alive. *Relation*, 119.

<sup>13</sup> There is no uncertainty about the "two Maids." One of them was a Daughter of William Swain, *Ibid*.

signing up their Souls into their Hands; with which Words these wretched Caitiffs used to mock the English afterward, when they came within their Hearing and View.<sup>14</sup>

About the same Time some Agents sent over by the Lord *Say*, and the Lord *Brook*, built a Fort at the Mouth of *Connecticut River*, wherein was placed one Lieutenant *Gardener*,<sup>15</sup> and a convenient Number of Soldiers to secure the Place intended soon after to be planted, but all the Winter following (*scil.*) in the End of the Year 1636, they were little better than besieged by the said Salvages, not daring to stir out of Command of the Fort, but they were ready to be seized by these their barbarous Enemies: At one Time the Lieutenant himself with ten or twelve of the Soldiers marching out of the Fort, with an Intent to pass over a Neck of Land to burn the *Marshes*; as soon as ever they were passed over the Streight of the Neck, they espied a Company of *Indians* making towards the said Isthmus, which if they could not recover, they see they must all perish; whereupon returning back with all Speed, they very narrowly escaped, and were two or three of them killed notwithstanding, before they could get back into the Fort, which was presently surrounded with Multitudes of them; but the

<sup>14</sup> This has reference, doubtless, to the Torture and Murder of Mr. John Tilley and Mr. Samuel Butterfield.

<sup>15</sup> The Name is thus spelt through-

out his own Work. His Descendants, however, have it *Gardiner*. Lieut. Gardener's Christian Name is always found *Lyon* or *Lion*. Perhaps an early Abbreviation of *Lionel*.



discharging of a Peice of Ordnance gave them Warning to keep further from the [120] Walls. Sometimes they came with their Canoes into the River in View of the Soldiers within the Fort, and when they apprehended themselves out of reach of their Guns, they would imitate the dying Groans and Invocations of the poor Captive English, which the English Soldiers were forced with silent Patience to bear, not being then in a Capacity to requite their insolent Blasphemies. But they being by these horrible Outrages justly provoked to Indignation, unanimously agreed to joyn their Forces together to root them out of the Earth with Gods Assistance.<sup>16</sup>

The Colony of the *Massachusetts* did immediately set about it in the latter End of the Summer (1636) by sending out fourscore Men under the Command of Capt. *Endicot* of *Salem*; who went to the *Pequod* Country by Water, with Commission to treat with the said *Pequods*, first offering Terms of Peace, if they would surrender the Murtherers of the English, and forbear further Acts of Hostility or else fight them.

The Captain aforesaid coming ashore with his Company, by a Message sent them by an Interpreter, obtained some little Speech with a great Number of them at a Distance; but after they understood what was propounded to them, first cunningly getting behind a Hill, they presently

<sup>16</sup> Gardener's own Account having been several Times reprinted, makes Abstracts from it unnecessary here. See Mather's *Relation*.

ran away into the Woods and Swamps, where there was no pursuing of them: however one discharging a Gun among them as they were taking their flight, stayed the course of one, which was all that could be done against them for that Time.

Winter approaching, and no Encouragement presenting further to pursue them at that Time, it was resolved better to return back for the present, and wait a further Season when more Forces could be gathered together to pursue the Quarrel to the utmost.<sup>17</sup>

During this Interim the *Pequods* perceiving that they had by several late Injuries and Outrages, drawn upon themselves the Hatred of all the English, as well as of their own People<sup>18</sup> by former Wrongs; and distrusting their own Ability to deal with them all at once, did at the last by all subtil Insinuations, and Perswasions, try to make their Peace with the *Narragansets*, urging such Arguments as to right Reason seemed not only pregnant to the Purpose, but also (if Revenge that bewitching and pleasing Passion of Mans Mind hath not blinded their Eyes) most cogent and invincible: But they were by the good Providence of God withheld from embracing those

<sup>17</sup> Capt. John Underhill published a most interesting History of the Expedition of General Endicot, which, like Gardener's, has been reprinted. It carries the Evidence of Truthfulness with it, as well as

the Quaintness of an old Soldier of that Day.

<sup>18</sup> By "their own People" is meant the *Narragansets*, so lately Seceders from them.

Councils, which might otherwise have proved most pernicious to the Design of the English; viz. That the English were Strangers, and began to overspread the Country, the which would soon be possessed by them to the depriving the ancient Inhabitants of their [121] Right, if they were not timely prevented; and that the *Narhagansets* would but make Way for their own<sup>r</sup> Ruin, by helping to destroy the *Pequods*; for after themselves were subdued, it would not be long ere the *Narhagansets* themselves, would in the next Place be rooted out likewise: Whereas if they would but join together against the English, they could demonstrate how the English might easily either be destroyed, or forced to leave the Country, and that without any Danger to themselves: telling them also, that they never need come to any open Battels, they might destroy them only by firing their Houses, and killing their Cattel, and lying in wait for them as they went out about their ordinary Occasions; which Course if it were pursued, they said, their new and unwelcome Neighbours could not long subsist, but would either be starved with Hunger and Cold or forced to forsake the Country. *Machiavel*<sup>19</sup> himself, if he had sat in Counsel with them could not have insinuated stronger Reasons to have perswaded them to a Peace.

<sup>19</sup>Nicholas Machiavel, celebrated for his History of Florence, or, *The Florentine History*, as the Title runs. He was not so famous for his argumentative Powers, perhaps, as he was for the Absurdity of the Doctrine which he maintained in his Book called *The Prince*.



It is said, that so much Reason was apprehended in these Motives, that the *Narhagansets* were once wavering, and were almost perswaded to have granted an Ear to their Advice and Perswasion, and joyned all against the English; but when they considered what an Advantage they had put into their Hands by the Strength and Favour of the English, to take a full Revenge of all their former Injuries upon their inveterate Enemies: the Thought of that was so sweet, that it turned the Scale against all other Considerations whatsoever.<sup>20</sup>

The Report of the unheard of Cruelties forementioned, filling the Ears of the English throughout the Country; it was agreed by the joynt Consent of the English throughout the three Colonies, to unite all their Forces together, for the suppressing the common Enemy, early in the Spring Anno 1637, who were also moved thereunto by their own Necessities, as well as by the earnest Request of their Friends at *Connecticut*.

Those of *Plimouth*, being written unto by the Governour of the *Massachusetts*, appeared very cordially willing thereunto:<sup>21</sup> to which End they

<sup>20</sup> The Scale of War or Peace thus fearfully balancing and trembling, as here represented, is true to the Letter; but, it is also now known to be equally true, that Roger Williams prevented the Alliance between the Pequots and Narragansets

at this Time. It may not have been known to the Author, but it was well known to Winthrop, one of his chief Authorities.

<sup>21</sup> This Statement is hardly borne out by certain original Documents in my possession.

agreed to send fifty Men at their own Charge, with as much speed as the Matter required, with sufficient Leaders appointed, and a Bark provided to carry them Provisions, and tend upon them on all Occasions; but before they could be dispatched away the next Spring, News was brought that the Enemy was wholly routed, so as their Journey was stopped, and their good Will accepted for the Deed, as if they really had been there to have born their Part in the Service; their Non-appearance in Time and Place being not to be imputed to any Backwardness in their [122] Minds; but to their too late Invitation to the Service; the Motion fetching a large Compass from *Connecticut* down to the *Massachusetts*, from whom in the last Place they were solicited thereunto. And for the other two Colonies, those of *Connecticut* being quickened on by the Spur of Necessity, and present Sense of the Insolency daily acted at their very Doors, were soonest upon their March, and by the good Hand of God upon them, had given the main Stroke before their Friends of the *Massachusetts* could come up with them; yet was there no repining for the Want of the Glory of the Victory, nor was there any Cause, those that were the chief Actors therein being forward to give God the Glory of the Whole, and not willing to pocket up anything thereof themselves, acknowledging that they never saw more of God, or less of Man, in any business of that Nature, as may more fully be understood by Particulars ensuing.

The Colony of the *Massachusetts* determined to send an hundred and fixty, of whom an hundred and twenty were ordered under the Conduct of Capt. *Patrick* of *Watertown*, and Capt. *Trafk* of *Salem*, Capt. *Stoughton* of *Dorchester*, being to command in Chief; with whom was sent that holy Man of God Mr. John *Wilfon* (Pastor of one Church of *Boston*) the Charets [Chariots?] and Horsemen of our *Israel*, by whose Faith and Prayer, as sometimes was said of *Luther* (in reference to *Germany*) the Country was preserved, so as it was confidently believed that no Enemy should break in upon a Place whilst he survived, which as some have observed, accordingly came to pass.

The Matter requiring great Expedition, and it being long before the whole Company could be dispatched away, Capt. *Patrick* with forty Men were sent away beforehand,<sup>22</sup> to be sure to meet with those of *Connecticut*, in Case they should be in Action, before the Rest of our Forces could get into a Readiness, which accordingly came to pass; for the main Business in taking the Fort was over, even before the said Patrick could get thither.<sup>23</sup> Capt. *Underbil* was sent by Mr. *Vane*

<sup>22</sup> See Winthrop, *Journal*, i, 222.

<sup>23</sup> "The March of those from Massachusetts was retarded by the most singular Cause that ever influenced the Operations of a military Force. When they were mustered previous to their Depart-

ure, it was found that some of the Officers, as well as of the private Soldiers, were still under a Covenant of Works; and that the Blessing of God could not be implored or expected to crown the Arms of such unhallowed Men with Success.



the Governour to *Saybrook*, the Winter before, to strengthen the *Garison* there. The assaulting and surprizing of which,<sup>24</sup> being the most Remarkable Peice of Service in that whole Expedition, take it as it was delivered in Writing by that valiant, faithful, and prudent Commander Capt. *Mafon*, Chief in the Action, who lived long after to reap the Fruit of his Labour, and enjoy the Benefit of that Day's Service, having an Inheritance given him in that Part of the Country, as a just Reward of his faithful Service on that Day, as well as at other Times. *Wequash*,<sup>25</sup> a *Pequod* by Nation, but disgusted by the Sachim, proved a good Guide, by whose Direction they were [123] led to a Fort near *Mistick* River, some Miles nearer than *Sassiacous* his Fort, which they first intended to assault.<sup>26</sup>

On the second *Wednesday* of *May*, being the

The Alarm was general, and many Arrangements necessary in order to cast out the Unclean, and to render this little Band sufficiently pure to fight the Battles of a People who entertained high Ideas of their own Sanctity." Robertson's *America*, Book x; Neal's *History of New England*, i, 184. The Date of Patrick's March from Boston is not given by Winthrop, who had been so much occupied in engineering at the Election, that he neglected the Dates to his Entries in his Journal, therefore how much Patrick was delayed by the "Covenant of Works" is not known.

<sup>24</sup> The Pequot Fort, and not *the Garison at Saybrook*, as would naturally be inferred from the Context.

<sup>25</sup> Of this Renegade, Roger Williams gives no favorable Character. See Mather's *Relation*, 149; but in *New England's First Fruits* he is made a Saint of. See that Work, p. 5-7.

<sup>26</sup> This Account, purporting to have been received from Captain Mafon, was probably an Abstract of what was afterwards published as his History.

tenth Day of that Month, we set sail with ninety Men of the English in one Pink, one Pinnace, two Boats, towards the *Pequods*, with seventy River-*Indians*. Having some what a long Passage to *Saybrook* Fort, about forty of our *Indians* desired to go down by Land on *Saturday*, but on *Monday* they went forth from the Fort, and meeting seven *Pequods* and *Nyanticks*, they slew five outright, took one Prisoner, and brought him into *Saybrook* Fort, where he was executed by Capt. *Underhill*, the other escaped.<sup>27</sup>

On *Monday* we all landed at *Saybrook* Fort, and stayed there till *Tuesday*, Capt. *Underhill* joyning nineteen Men with himself to us: whereupon we sent back twenty of ours to strengthen our Plantations: and so set sail on *Thursday* towards *Narbaganset*, and arrived there on Friday.

On *Saturday*, myself, with Capt. *Underhill*, Lieutenant *Sealy*, with our Guard marched to *Canonicus* by Land, being about five Miles distant, where we were kindly entertained after their Manner: having had Parley with him, we sent to *Miantonimo* who would give no present Answer; and so our Sabbath being on the Morrow, we adjourned our meeting until *Monday*, at which Time there assembled *Miantonimo* with the chieft of

<sup>27</sup> One of the most revolting Executions on Record. The Name of the Sufferer was *Kiswas*. See Mather's *Relation*, 167. In Mason's History as published by Mr.

Prince, it is said that those Indians fell upon thirty or forty of the Enemy near *Saybrook* Fort, and killed seven of them outright. This (in the Text) is the most rational Account.

them, about two hundred Men; and being solemnly set for Consultation after their Manner, we told them, we were now going, God assisting, to revenge the Wrong committed, and Bloodshed by their and our Enemies, upon our native Country-men, not any Way desiring their Aid, unless they would voluntarily send, which they did exceedingly approve of. Moreover we told them, that the English and they had always been Friends for ought we knew, and so we were with the *Indians* that had not wronged English-men, the which they acknowledged, and so made a large Description of the *Pequods* Country, and told us, they would send Men with us; so we resolved there to keep our Rendezvouz at *Canonicus* his Plantation on the Morrow Night, being *Teusday*: but the Wind being stiff, we could not land our Men till five or six of the Clock in the Afternoon, at which Time I landed on *Narbaganset* Shore with thirty two Men, and so marched to the Place of Rendezvouz formerly appointed: Capt. *Underbil* and my Lieutenant landed the Rest, and so came up to me that Night. About two Hours before Day came an *Indian* with a Letter from Capt. *Patrick*,<sup>28</sup> being then at Mr. *Ro. Williams* his Plantation with forty Men, who desired us to stay for his coming, and joyning, not [124] intimating when that would be: the which being considered and debated, we thought could not be

<sup>28</sup> This Circumstance is not mentioned in Mafon's Narrative.



our safest Course (though his present Assistance was much desired) for these Reasons.

First, Because the Day before when we had absolutely resolved to go, the *Indians* plainly told us, they thought we were but in jest, and also that English Men did talk much, but not fight:<sup>29</sup> Nay, they concluded that they would not go out: and besides if we should defer, we feared we should be discovered by Reason of the frequent Recourse between them by certain Squaws (who have mutual Recourse): whereupon we were constrained to set forward toward the *Pequods*, with seventy seven English, and about sixty River-*Indians*, and as I suppose near about two hundred *Narhagansets*, and marched that Night to the Eastern *Nianticks*, where we kept our Rendezvous that Night; The Sachim of the Place adding about an hundred of his Men unto us.

We set forward and marched about ten Miles, where making an Alta (or Halt) there we held a Consultation with the *Indians* that desired to know what we intended? We told them that we resolved to Assault *Sassacous* his Fort, at which they were all stricken, and as it were amazed with Fear, as they plainly confessed; and so after long Debate and pressing of them, taxing them with Cowardize, some of them resolved to go along with us, though I suppose they had no such Intent, as appeared afterward; some of them left

<sup>29</sup> "They had frequently despised us, saying, we durst not look upon a Pequot, but themselves would perform great Things." *Mason*.

us, to the Number I suppose of an hundred or less; and marching on five Miles further, we made another Alta, where they told us, we had near a dozen Miles to *Sassacous* his Fort, as we gathered by their Relation: Being very weary in travelling with our Arms, Amunition and Provision, we were constrained to alter our Resolution, and resolved to attempt that Fort, the which they had formerly described to be three or four Miles nearer; and also one of Captain *Underbills* Men failing, put it out of Doubt. But whosoever saith that Capt. *Underbil* had any falling out about that or any Thing else, doth speak Untruth: for we both resolved to *Sassacous* his Fort, as we concluded in our Consultation at *Narhaganset*, and so continued our Resolution till we received the former Reasons as grounds sufficient to perswade us to the Contrary, and to prosecute that which was most likely to be accomplished.

They drew a Plot of the Situation of the *Pequods* and described *Sassacous* his Fort to be the nearest, which was the chief Cause we determined to assault that first, and had no Reason leading till our last Alta, where upon the Reasons formerly mentioned, we changed our Resolution: this they much desired, and very much rejoiced; for it was dreadful to them to hear the Name of *Sassacous*.

[125] From thence we marched two or three Miles where we kept our Rendezvouz, supposing we had been within one Mile of the Fort: They

having sent an *Indian* to discover before-hand, brought us News that they were secure, having been fishing with many Canoes at Sea, and Divers of them walking here and there.<sup>30</sup>

About two Hours before Day we marched toward the Fort, being weary and much spent; many of us having slept nothing at all.

And so we began to march toward the Fort, the Lord being pleased wonderfully to assist and encourage us. After a tedious March of three or four Miles, about Break of Day we came Fair in View of the Fort, standing on the Top of an Hill, not steep, the *Indians* all falling back, were suddenly vanished out of Sight: so we made an Alta, and sent back for our Guide, who had promised to go with us to the Fort; but his Heart we saw much failed him. We asked him what they intended who promised to wing us, and to surround the Fort? He told us they were much afraid; but he seeing our Resolution, went to them and prevailed with Divers of them to come up to us. We told them their best Course would be to flank the Fort on both Sides, and having no Time longer to confer, we proceeded. Capt. *Underhil* to the Western Entrance with one Division, my self with the other to the Eastern, as silently as possibly we could; so it pleased God we came up with the Pallisado within two Rod, before we were discovered; at

<sup>30</sup> This brings us to the Night of the 25th of May.



which Time a Dog began to bark, and an *Indian* cried out,<sup>31</sup> but not being myself rightly informed by the *Indian* Guide of the right Entrance, though there was a little postern Door, the which I had thought to have attempted to break down with my Foot; but the Lord directed me otherwise for the better; for I then feared we could not there enter with our Arms, which proved true; so I suddenly hastened to the Pallisado, and putting in the Muzzle of my Peice, discharged upon them, and so the Rest, with all Celerity; and suddenly hastened on toward that Side which stood toward the Water; where I concluded was an Entrance and instantly fell upon it, being only barred with two great forked Boughs, or Branches of some Tree, and hastening over them, I drew one after me, my Lieutenant, the other Way outward. Then we suddenly fell upon the Wigwams: the *Indians* cried out in most hideous Manner, some issuing out of the Wigwams, shooting at us desperately, and so creeping under Beds that they had. We had resolved a while not to have burned it; but being we could not come at them, I then resolved to set it on Fire, after Divers of them were slain, and some of our Men sore wounded: So entering one of their Wigwams, I took a Fire-brand, [*at which Time an Indian drawing an Arrow had killed him, but one Davis*

<sup>31</sup> The Cry was, "Owanux! Wanux!" in Allyn's *Transcript*, "Owanux!" which is "Englismen! Mather's *Relation*; "Wannocks!" Englismen!" Mason's *History*. in the Anonymous Account. *Ibid.*

his Serjeant cut the [126] Bow-string with his Court-lace]<sup>32</sup> and suddenly kindled a Fire in the Mats wherewith they were covered, and fell to a Retreat, and surrounded the Fort. The Fire encreasing violently, insomuch as that they were constrained to climb to the Top of the Pallisadoe, from whence they were soon fecht down, I suppose to the Number of an hundred and forty. Many of them issuing forth were suddenly slain, either by the English or *Indians*, who were in a Ring without us, All being dispatched and ended in the Space of an Hour; having two of our Men slain, and sixteen wounded.<sup>33</sup>

Being very hot and dry, we could very hardly procure any Water, where we continued one Hour not knowing what Course to take, or which way to go, our Pinnaces not being come in, neither did we know how far, or which way to go to them; our Interpreter being an *Indian*, and they [the Indians] so hurried and distracted with a few hurt Men, but chiefly, as I conceive, with Fear of the Enemy, who suddenly approached, that we could hardly come to speak with him [the Interpreter,] who knew nothing what they intended. But the Enemy approaching, they began to cleave unto us, and I verily think they durst not leave us.

<sup>32</sup> This is the Author's Interpolation. Mason does not refer to it in his History, though he mentions Serjeant Davis.

<sup>33</sup> The Fight and Capture of

the Pequot Fort was on the Morning of Friday, May 26th. Winthrop records the Information he received respecting it in his *Journal*,

i, 225.

Our Pinnaces then coming in View with a fair Gale, being guided as it were to serve our Neceffity by the good Hand of God, which I think was never more eminently feen in a Matter of like Moment, and lefs of Men in feveral Paſſages. Then we ſet our Men in order, and prepared for fight and began to march toward the Harbour where the Pinnaces were to ride: The Enemy approaching, Capt. *Underbil* with divers *Indians* and certain Engliſh iſſued out to encounter them, but they would not ſtand to it; for the moſt Part they lay behind Rocks, Trees and Buſhes. We marched on they ſtill dodging of us; ſometimes deſperately hazarding themſelves in open Field, where ſome of them were ſlain in open View, and as we hear, many wounded. I was ſomewhat cautelous in beſtowing many Shot upon them needleſſly, becauſe I expected a ſtrong Oppoſition; and thus they continued to follow us till we came within two Miles of our Pinnaces, where they wholly left us, which was near fix Miles as I conceive, having then about two Miles more to the River.

Four of our wounded Men we were forced to carry ourſelves, while at length we hired the *Indians* to bear them, both in this and all their following Enterpriſes againſt the *Peguods*.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup>“Four or five of our Men that were wounded, to others: So that we had not above forty Men carried, with the Arms of twenty free. At length we hired ſeveral more. We alſo being faint, were Indians, who eaſed us of that Burthen in carrying our wounded conſtrained to put four to one Men.” *Mafon*.



Here Note that one *Wequash*<sup>35</sup> a *Pequod* fell from his Country-men, and proved a Guide to the English.

This Service being thus happily accomplished by these few Hands that [127] came from *Connecticut*, within a while after the Forces sent from the *Massachusetts* under the Conduct of Captain *Stoughton*<sup>36</sup> as Commander in Chief arrived there also, who found a great Part of the Work done to their Hands in the surprizal of the *Pequods* Fort, as aforesaid, which yet was but the breaking of the Nest, and unkenneling those salvage Wolves; for the Body of them, with *Sassacus* the chief Sachim (whose very Name was a Terroure to all the *Narhagansets*) were dispersed abroad and scattered all over their Country; yet so far dismayed, that they never durst make any Assault upon the English, that in several Parties were scattered about in Pursuit of them.

It was not long after Capt. *Stoughtons* Soldiers came up, before News was brought of a great Number of the Enemy, that were discovered by the Side of a River up the Country, being first

<sup>35</sup> The same before noticed. See *Note*, 470.

<sup>36</sup> Israel Stoughton of Dorchester, the Father of Governor William Stoughton. When the Civil War broke out in England, he, with several other prominent New England Men returned to that Country and took part in the War. Capt. Stoughton was commissioned a Co-

lonel by the Parliament and fought under Cromwell. He did not return to New England. A Letter from him while in this Expedition against the Pequots may be seen in the *Appendix* to Mather's *Relation*, 285, &c.; and another, several Weeks later, in the *Appendix* to Winthrop's *Journal*, i, 399, and another in Hutchinson's *Papers*, 61-3.

trepanned by the *Narbagansets*, under Pretence of securing [protecting] them, but they were truly hemmed in by them, though at a Distance, yet so as they could not, or durst not stir from the Place, by which Means our Forces of the *Massachusets* had an easie Conquest of some hundreds of them, who were there couped up as in a Pound; not daring to fight, not able to fly away, and so were all taken without any Opposition: The Men among them to the Number of thirty were turned presently into *Cbarons* Ferry-boat, under the Command of Skipper *Gallop*, who dispatched them a little without the Harbour.<sup>37</sup> The Females and Children were disposed of according to the Will of the Conquerors; some being given to the *Narbagansets* and other *Indians* that assisted in the Service.

The rest of the Enemy being first fired out of their strong Hold, were taken and destroyed, a great Number of them being seized in the Places where they intended to have hid themselves, the rest fled out of their own Country over *Connecticut* River, up towards the Dutch Plantation. Our Soldiers being resolved, by Gods Assistance, to make a final Destruction of them, were minded

<sup>37</sup> To reflect upon this and kindred Acts is no agreeable Task to the Annotator. To be compelled to review them partakes something of the Nature of witnessing them. The Skipper *Gallop* here mentioned was the same Capt. John *Gallop* who recaptured Capt. *Oldham's*

Vessel from the Indians at *Maniffes*, after a desperate Fight, in 1636. He was a prominent Man in *Connecticut*, and had a Son, also named *John*, a Captain in Philip's War, and was killed at the *Narraganset* Fort Fight, Dec. 19th, 1675. See *Miss Caulkin's, Hist. New London.*

to pursue them which way soever they should think to make their Escape; to which End in the next Place, our Soldiers went by Water towards *New-Haven*, whither they heard (and which in Reason was most likely) they bent their Course: Soon after they were informed of a great Number of them that had betaken themselves to a neighbouring Place not far off, whither they might Hope it was not like they should be pursued; but upon Search they found fifty or sixty Wigwams, but without any *Indians* in any of them, but heard that they had passed along toward the Dutch Plantation; whereupon our Soldiers that were before, all embarked for *Quillepiack*, afterwards called *New-Haven*, and being landed there, they had not far [128] to march unto the Place where it was most probable they should either find or hear of them. Accordingly in their March they met here and there with sundry of them, whom they slew or took Prisoners; amongst whom were two Sachims, whom they presently beheaded. To a third, that was either a Sachim or near a kin to one, they gave his Life upon Condition that he should go and enquire where *Sassacous* was, and accordingly bring them Word. This *Indian*, overlooking all other national or natural Obligations, in Consideration of his Life that was received on that Condition, proved very True and Faithful to those that sent him. His Order was to have returned in three Days, but not being able

within so short a Time to make a full Discovery of the Business, and also find an handsome Way to escape, he made it eight Days before he returned, in which something fell out not a little remarkable; for those he was sent to discover, suspecting at the last by his withdrawing himself that he came for a Spye, pursued after him; so he was forced to fly for his Life, and getting down to the Sea-side, he accidentally met with a Canooe a little before turned adrift, by which Means he paddled by some shift or other so far out of the Harbour, that making a Sign he was discerned of some on board of one of the Vessels that attended on our Soldiers, by whom being taken up, he made known what he had discovered: But after he was gone, *Sassacous* suspecting (and not without just Cause) what the Matter was, made his Escape from the Rest with twenty or thirty of his Men, to the *Mohawks*, by whom himself and they were all murdered afterward, being hired thereunto by the *Narbaganjets*, as was confidently affirmed and believed.

Thus this treacherous and cruel Villian with his Companions, having against his Faith and Promise, as well as contrary to the Laws of Nature and Nations, murdered several others, both of the Dutch and English Nation, is in the same Manner himself against the Laws of Hospitality murdered by those to whom he fled for Refuge; *Vengeance is mine, saith the Lord, I will repay it.*

It is worthy our Observation, that this *Sassacous* the chief Sachim of the *Pequods*, as *Philip* of



*Mount-Hope*, (both of them in their several Times and Places the contrivers of many bloody and cruel Mischiefs, yet) escaped the Hands of these whom they had so many Ways provoked to the utmost Degree of Indignation, that so they might not too much gratifie their own Spirits in taking Revenge; but it must be brought about by those Means, in which the Glory of Divine Vengeance and Justice shall more eminently shine forth that it might be truly said of them as *Adonibezek*, confessed of himself, *As I have done, so God hath* [129] *requited me.* But to return.

The rest of the *Pequods* from whom *Sassacus* had made an Escape, shifted every one for himself, leaving but three or four behind them, (when a Party of our Soldiers according to the Direction of him that was sent as a Spy came upon the Place) who would not or could not tell them whither their Company were fled; but our Soldiers ranging up and down as Providence guided them, at the last, *July* 13. 1637, they lighted upon a great Number of them, they pursued in [to] a small *Indian* Town, seated by the Side of an hideous Swamp (near the Place where *Fairfield* or *Stratford* now stand) into which they all slipt, as well *Pequods* as Natives of the Place, before our Men could make any Shot upon them, having placed a Centinel to give warning. Mr. *Ludlow*<sup>38</sup> and Capt. *Mason* with half a Score of their Men hapned to discover this Crew. Capt. *Patrick* and Capt. *Trafk* with about

<sup>38</sup> Mr. Roger Ludlow. He had recently removed to Connecticut.

an hundred of the *Massachusetts* Forces came in upon them presently after the Alarm was given. Such Commanders as first hapned to be there, gave special Order that the Swamp should be surrounded (being about a Mile in Compass) but Lieutenant *Davenport*,<sup>39</sup> belonging to Capt. *Traſk* his Company, not hearing the Word of Command, with a dozen more of his Company in an over-eager Pursuit of the Enemy, rushed immediately into the Swamp, where they were very rudely entertained by those Evening Wolves that were newly kennelled therein; for Lieut. *Davenport* was forely wounded in the Body, *John Wedgwood* of *Ipswich* in the Belly, and was laid hold on also by some of the *Indians*. *Thomas Sherman*<sup>40</sup> of the said *Ipswich*, in the Neck; some of their Neighbours that ventured in with them were in Danger of the Enemies Arrows, that flew thick about them, others were in as much Hazard of being swallowed by the miery Bogs of the Swamp, wherein they stuck so fast, that if Sergeant *Riggs* of *Roxbury* had not rescued two or three of them, they had fallen into the Hands of the Enemy; but such was the Strength and Courage of those that came to the Rescue, that some of the *Indians* being slain with their Swords, their Friends were

<sup>39</sup> Afterwards Capt. Richard Davenport, of the Castle in Boston Harbor, where he was killed by Lightning, July 15th, 1665, at the Age of 59. Captain Nathaniel Davenport killed at the Narraganset

Fort Fight was his Son.

<sup>40</sup> Perhaps the same whose Name we find in a List of Passengers who shipped for Barbadoes from England, in February, 1634-5. See *Founders of New England*, 101.

130] *with the Indians in New-England.* 35

quickly relieved, and drawn out of the Mire and Danger.

But the *Indians* of the Place, who had for Company sake run with their Guests the *Pequods* into the Swamp, did not love their Friendship so well as to be killed with them also for Company sake; wherefore they began to bethink themselves that they had done no Wrong to the English, and desired a Parley, which was granted; and presently understood by the Means of *Thomas Stanton*, an exact Interpreter then at Hand, upon which the Sachim of the Place with several others, their Wives and Children, that liked better to live quietly in their Wigwams than be buried in the Swamp, came forth and had their Lives granted them: After [130] some Time of further Parley with these, the Interpreter was sent in to offer the like Terms to the Rest, but they were possessed with such a Spirit of Stupidity and Sullenness, that they resolved rather to sell their Lives for what they could get there; and to that End began to let fly their Arrows thick against him, as intending to make his Blood some Part of the Price of their own; but through the Goodness of God toward him, his Life was not to be sold on that Account, he being presently fetched off.

By this Time, Night drawing on, our Commanders perceiving on which Side of the Swamp the Enemies were lodged, gave Order to cut through the Swamp, with their Swords, that they might the better hem them round in one Corner,

which was presently done, and so they were begirt in all Night; the English in the Circumference plying them with Shot all the Time, by which Means many of them were killed and buried in the Mire, as they found the next Day. The Swamp by the forementioned Device being reduced to so narrow a Compass, that our Soldiers, standing at twelve Foot Distance, could surround it, the Enemy was kept in all the Night: but a little before Day-break (by Reason of the Fog that useth to arise about that Time, observed to be the darkest Time of the Night) twenty or thirty of the lustiest of the Enemy brake through the Besiegers, and escaped away into the Woods; some by Violence and some by stealth, dropping away; some of whom notwithstanding were killed in the Pursuit; the Rest were left to the Mercy of the Conquerors, of which many were killed in the Swamp like fullen Dogs, that would rather in their Self-willedness and Madnes fit still to be shot through or cut in Peices, than receive their Lives for the asking at the Hand of those into whose Power they were now fallen. Some that are yet living and worthy of Credit do affirm, that in the Morning entring into the Swamp, they saw several Heaps of them sitting close together, upon whom they discharged their Peices laden with ten or twelve Pistol-bullets at a Time, putting the Muzles of their Peices under the Boughs within a few Yards of them; so as besides those that were found Dead (near twenty) it was judged that many more were killed and sunk into the



Mire, and never were minded more by Friend or Fo: Of those who were not so desperate or fullen to sell their Lives for Nothing, but yeilded in Time, the male Children were sent to the *Bermudas*; of the Females, some were distributed to the English Towns, some were disposed of among the other *Indians*, to whom they were deadly Enemies as well as to ourselves.

This Overthrow given to the *Pequods* struck such a Terror into all the *Indians* in those Parts (some of whom had been ill-affected to the English before) that they sought our Friendship, and tendered themselves to be un[131]der our Protection, which they then obtained, and have never since forfeited it, any of them, till this late Rebellion of *Philip*, the Subject of the Discourse foregoing. Amongst the Rest of the Prisoners, special Notice was taken of the Wife of a noted *Indian* called *Mononotto*, who with her Children submitted her self, or by the Chance of the War fell into the Hands of the English: it was known to be by her Mediation that two English Maids (that were taken away from *Wethersfield* upon *Connecticut* River) were saved from Death, in requital of whose Pity and Humanity, the Life of her self and her Children was not only granted her, but she was in special recommended to the Care of that honourable Gentlemen Mr. *John Winthrop*, for that Time being the worthy Governour of the *Massachusetts*; who taking Notice of her modest Countenance and Behaviour, as

well as of her only Request (not to suffer Wrong either as to the Honour of her Body, or Fruit of her Womb) gave special Charge concerning her according to his noble and Christian Disposition.

After this Slaughter at the Swamp, the *Pequods* being upon every Turn exposed to Revenge of the *Mohegins* on one Side, and *Narhagansets* on the other, chose rather to submit themselves to the English, by whom they were put, some under the *Mohegins*, and some under the *Narhagansets*, which at last proved the Occasion of the present Quarrel, as is conceived, through the Ambition of *Miantonimo*, as was at first related.

This was the Issue of the *Pequod* War, which in the Day of it here in *New-England* was then as formidable to the Country in general as the present War with *Philip*; the Experience of which, because it may administer much matter of Comfort and Encouragement to the surviving Generation, as well as of Praise and Thanksgiving to Almighty God from all those who have thus long quietly enjoyed the Benefit, and reaped the Fruit of their Labour, and Courage, who engaged therein, the more Pains hath been taken to search out the broken Peices of that Story, and thus put them together before the Memory thereof was buried in the Ruins of Time, and past the Recovery and Knowledge of the present Age; the which though it be here in the last Place recorded, should in the first be remembered.

[1]<sup>41</sup> *A Table shewing the Towns and Places which are Inhabited by the English in New-England; those that are marked with Figures, as well as expressed by their Names, are such as were assaulted by the Indians, during the late awful Revolutions of Providence.*

Numb. 1.<sup>42</sup> Mount-hope. A gallant Neck of Land where *Philip* dwelt, who first began the Insurrection against the English *Jun.* 24, 1675.

2. The Place where stands the Town of *Swanzy* consisting of forty Dwelling-houses, most of them very fair Buildings, just at the Entrance on to *Mount-hope*, where were (*June* 24, 1675.) slain six Men at *Bourn's* Garison, in *Metapoiset* (another Neck marked\* not far from the former) and three wounded as they came from the publick Meeting, two kill'd that went for the Surgeon: and a Negro of Mr. *Mile's* wounded, so as he died soon after. Also *Layton Archer* and his Son were slain, *June* 25, which three belonged to *Road-Island*, but were kiled at the *Fall-River*, though by Misinformation it is elsewhere published that it was done *June* 24.<sup>43</sup> Also eighteen Houses were burnt within *Mount-hope*, that belonged to *Swanzy* Town; the Rest of the Town being all burned the next Year, *June* 16, 1676, save six

<sup>41</sup> There is no Paging to this Table in the Original.

<sup>42</sup> The *Numbers*, besides denoting as mentioned in the Heading

above, have reference also to the Map.

<sup>43</sup> See Dr. I. Mather, *Brief History*, 221.

Houses that are yet standing: besides the barbarous Murther of Mr. *Hezekiah Willet*, June 26, 1676.<sup>44</sup>

3. *Middleborough*, formerly called *Namasket*, where *Sausaman* was slain: It is scituate between *Plimouth* and *Taunton* and is misplaced in the Map. Here one *J. Marks* was walking in a Field of Indian-corn, in July 1675, had his Thigh-bone broke by a Shot from an *Indian*; after which he lay forty-eight Hours before he was found, and yet was alive, but his Wound was so putrified, that he died thereof. When the Town was first assaulted, the Miller running back to shut down his Mill, was assaulted by seven *Indians* at one Time, by eleven at another; had several Bullets shot through his Coat, yet gat safe to the Garison; but the People were forced to retire to *Plimouth* with their Goods soon after, when the whole Village was destroyed by the *Indians*.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> See *Note 379, ante*, page 240.

<sup>45</sup> Some Traditions respecting the Affairs in *Middleborough* in the Time of Philip's War, were gathered among the Inhabitants of that Town, and printed in the Notes to Church's *Entertaining History*, (1827.) There is an additional Tradition in the *Thomson Genealogy*, pages 7 and 8, to this effect: "The House of John Thomson was burnt by the Indians on a certain Evening. On the same Evening a Mr.

Danfon, his Neighbor, was shot on his Horse and killed, as he was letting his Horse drink at a Brook, while making his Escape to a Garison, at or near what is since called the *Four Corners*." There is an Extract from a Letter of this John Thomson, in Davis's Edition of Morton's *Memorial*, Page 430, dated July 10th, which, doubtless, fixes the Time of the Transactions alluded to in the *Genealogy*. The Letter is addressed to Gov. Win-



4. *Dartmouth*, where in June 1676,<sup>46</sup> a Man and a Woman were slain by the *Indians*; another Woman was wounded and taken; but because she had kept an *Indians* Child before, so much Kindness was shewed her, as that she was sent back, after they had dressed her Wound; the *Indians* gaured her till she came within Sight of the English.

5. *Seaconke* or *Reboboth*, where were burned eight Farm-houses in the End of June, and Beginning of July 1675. On March 28, 1676, forty [II] five Dwelling Houses were there burned, whereof thirty eight were inhabited, and the Owners thereby turned out of Doors, and left without House or Harbour. Beside twenty-one Barns, two Corn-mills, one Saw-mill burnt

flow at Plymouth, from which it appears that the Town's Court of Guard was stationed in a Mill, and were not strong enough to act on the Offensive, and hence the Indians swept around and set fire to most of the Houses. "Towards Night," says Thomson (or as Mr. Davis has his Name, *Tomson*) "they returned to the Top of Tispaquin's Hill [on the opposite Side of the Nemasket from the Four Corners] with great Triumph and Rejoicing, with a Shout. But we firing our long Gun at them, they speedily went away." Whether the Person killed were a Mr. *Dawson* or a Mr. *Danson*, I have not ascertained. In

the *Plymouth Colony Records*, vi, 70, mention is made of George *Danson*, 1673. In *ibid*, Vol. V, 156, "George *Danson* of Middleberry, for doing seruill worke on the Lord's Day, fined 40 Shillings."

<sup>46</sup> Should be 1675. See Mather, *Brief History*, 61, 252, and *Note* 395, *ante*, I had hoped to find some Account of these early Affairs in a Centennial Work lately issued at New Bedford, but looked only to be disappointed. The Work is entitled, *Old Dartmouth Centennial Celebration*, but a more appropriate Title would have been, *The Celebration of New Dartmouth*, or rather, *New Bedford*.

at the same Time. *June* 16, 1676, eight Farm-houses were there also consumed by the Fire of the Enemy. The Persons slain here were seven, four with Capt. *Pierce*, *March* 26, 1676, another *March* 28, another *Apr.* 28, the last, *May* 29.<sup>47</sup>

6. *Pocasset*, where were some Houses burned *July* 1675, and seven or eight slain in the Swamp near the Place: here also Capt. *Church* gave the Enemy a notable Defeat the same Month.<sup>48</sup>

7. *Taunton*, where were fifteen Persons slain by the *Indians*; eleven Men, two Maids, and two Youths: besides a Man slain in the Fight with Capt. *Beers*; some in the Year 1675, and some 1676, *pag.* 25, 26.<sup>49</sup>

7. *Mendham*, where were the first English slain within the *Massachusetts* Colony, to the Number of five or six, *July* 1675, within a few months

<sup>47</sup> The Historian of Rehoboth could not profit by the Information here given, as he used a modern Copy of Hubbard which did not contain it. See No. 20, of this *Table*.

<sup>48</sup> The "Houses burnt in July, 1675," may refer to those burnt in Dartmouth; but I do not find anything corresponding to it in other Accounts.

<sup>49</sup> No Data will be found at the Pages referred to for the above Statement. Taunton covered a large Territory then, and the Author has given the Aggregate of the slain on all Parts thereof, probably. In

March, 1677, three Indians were arraigned at Plymouth "for murdering John Knowles, John Tisdall, Sen., and Samuel Atkins." Their Names were "Timothy Jacked, alias Canjuncke, Nassamaquat, and Pompacanshe." The Verdict of the Jury was, "We find they are very suspicious of the Murder charged on them," that is, the two first named. "And in reference vnto Pompacanshe, wee find nothing against him." However, they were all "centanced to be sent out of the Country speedily." Pompacanshe was included, "as hee is a Prisoner taken in Warr."

11]. *with the Indians in New-England.* 43

after the whole Village was destroyed, *pag.* 26, 27, 31.

9. *Brookefield*, or *Squaboag* was destroyed by the *Indians Aug.* 2, 1675. whereof the cheif Inhabitants, *viz.* *John Eires, John Pritchett, and Rich. Coy*, treacherously slain under pretence of a Treaty, *pag.* 32, 33.<sup>50</sup>

10. *Deerfield* or *Pocumtuck*, a Village newly planted, where *Sep.* 12. 1675, Divers were slain, and the Houses burned by the Enemy. Between this Place and *Northampton* was a Skirmish with the Enemy 1675, eight or nine of the English were there slain, and twenty six of the Enemy. Near unto this Place was Captain *Lothrop* set upon with seven or eight hundred *Indians*, whereby himself, and most of his soldiers, to the Number of seventy three, were cut off, *Sept.* 18, 1675, *pag.* 36, 37, 38, 39. The Fight at the *Falls*, a little beyond *Deerfield*, *pag.* 91. It is Considerable that the Evening before Capt. *Turner* and Capt *Holioke* gave the Enemy a Camizado in the Wigwams, they had been feasting and dancing, having before they laid down to sleep, filled their Bellies with some new Milk, (as an English Woman then in their Hands, did declare, who was made

<sup>50</sup> "There were then slain to our great Grief, eight Men, namely, Zechariah Phillips of Boston, Timothy Farlow [Farley] of Billerica, Edward Coleborn of Chelmsford, Samuel Smedly of Concord, Sy-

drack Hapgood of Sudbury, Serjeant Eyres, [John Ayres] Serjeant [Joseph] Prichard, and Corporal [John] Coy." Wheeler's *Narrative*, in Foot's *West Brookfield Discourse*, 35.

to milk *Hatfield* Cows, which a Day or two before they had driven away.) So that when they were most secure, Destruction came upon a great Part of them, to the Number of three hundred and fifty, as was judged by such as were there, *vide pag. 91.*

11. *Squakheag*, [Northfield] another Village newly begun, which was also destroyed *Sept. 1675*, near unto this Place Capt. *Beers* was slain, and nineteen of his Men, as they went to relieve the Garison there, *pag 37.*

12. *Springfield*, which was treacherously assaulted *Octob. 5, 1675* by [III] three or four hundred *Indians*, when L[ieutenant] Cooper and two more were slain, and thirty five Houses burned with other Buildings belonging thereunto. Some others were there slain in the Winter following, *Pag. 41.* Within a few Miles of this Place Capt. *Samuel Holioko* handseled his Office with the Slaughter of four or five of the Enemy. Three or four were here slain the Winter following.

13. *Hatfield*, a small Town seated on the West-side of *Connecticut River*, over against Hadly, which was furiously assaulted by seven hundred *Indians, Octob. 19, 1675*, yet was the Place preserved by the Valour of the English with the Loss but of one Man, Serj. *Norton* by Name *Pag. 42*, although seven or eight of the Scouts were that Day surprised and slain by the Enemy, and one or two of the Town. It was



assaulted also 1676, when five Men were slain that came to their Relief from *Hadly*, *Pag.* 93.

14. *Northampton*, a fair Town three or four Miles distant from *Hatfield*, which was several Times assaulted by the Enemy, yet was preserved with the Loss but of a Few of the People and the burning of seven or eight of the Houses thereof, *Page* 44, 77.

15. *Hadly*, a considerable Town on the East-side of *Connecticut* River, violently assaulted by the Enemy, yet no considerable Hurt done, *June* 12, 1676,<sup>51</sup> only some Few were surpris'd and slain, *Pag.* 94, that without Order would venture without the Pallisadoes. In the *March* before, one *Goodman*, Deacon of the Church, was slain at *Hoccanum*, belonging to *Hadly*, and two more that went against Order and Command to the Top of Mount *Holioke*.

16. *Westfield*, a small Town seven Miles West

<sup>51</sup> It is since well known that General William Goffe, one of the Signers of the Death Warrant of Charles I, lived secreted many Years in Hadley. In an Attack on the Town sometime during this War by the Indians, he is said to have saved the Place by suddenly appearing among the frightened People, and routing the Indians. The Date of this Event is uncertain, but is supposed to have been on September the 1st, 1675. The first to publish the Story, so far as

is known to me, was Governor Hutchinson, who tells us it was handed down through Governor Leverett's Family. See *History of Massachusetts*, i, 219, 1st Edition, (1764). The next *Author* who speaks of it is that ubiquitous Singularity Isaac Bickerstaff, Esq., in his *Almanack* for the Year 1769. He probably took his Account from Hutchinson. Then President Stiles has it somewhat enlarged and embellished, in his *History of the Judges*, 109

from *Springfield*, where some few Houses were burned before, or in the Winter, 1675, and three or four Persons slain, as they passed toward *Springfield*, *Pag.* 44.

17. A Village called *Quonfigomog* in the middle Way between *Marlborough* and *Quabaog*, consisting of about six or seven Houses.

18. *Jer. Bulls*, Garison-house at *Pettiquemscot*, surprised, and sundry Persons slain; a very great Damage to the Design then in Hand against *Narbaganset* Fort,<sup>52</sup> *Pag.* 50, 51.

19. *Canonicus* Fort taken by the Forces of the three Colonies, *Decemb.* 19, 1675, though with the Loss of many of the English, seventy nine being slain right out, an about an hundred wounded; of the Enemy were slain by the Confession of some Prisoners about three hundred of their best Men; though *Ninicrafts* Men who buried the Dead there left, speak not of a third Part so many,<sup>53</sup> *Pag.* 51, 52.

20. *Warwick*, a Town near *Providence*, seated upon a Neck of Land, environed by the Sea, was all of it burned by the Enemy at several Times,

<sup>52</sup> See Mather's *Brief History*, 105-6.

<sup>53</sup> While Major Bradford, who was wounded in the Narraganset Swamp Fight of Dec. 19th, 1675, lay at Newport on Rhode Island, he wrote to the Rev. Mr. Cotton at Plymouth: "Ninicraft has sent down divers Messengers to the General, pretending Love to the

English, and that his Men have buried the English that were slain at the Fort, which were about twenty-four, and desires for every one he buried a Charge of Powder. He certifieth also of the Enemy's Flight." "Ninigret and his Nyantick Subjects dwelt from Point Judith up to Westery." Backus, *History of New-England*, i, 437.

[iv] the chief Mischief there done was upon *March* 16, 1676, and the Place wholly deserted by the Inhabitants for a Time, yet but one Man killed, that was too confident of his Safety, as is said.<sup>54</sup>

*Providence* is the Town next *Warwick*, where were eighteen Houses burned, *June* 28, 1675. *March* 29 following, fifty-four Houses were there burned, and most of the Rest as they were deserted by the Inhabitants withdrawing to *Road-Island*.

*Petuxet* is another small Place within four Miles of *Providence*, where were twelve Houses burned in the Beginning of *March* 1676, *Pag.* 66, 67. It was by a small Brook called *Abbots Run*, that falls into *Patuxet*, (a River near *Providence*) where Captain *Peirce* and his Men were slain. *Ibid.*

*Bridgewater*, a small Town between *Taunton* and *Weymouth* *Pag.* 68.

21. *Lancaster*, or *Nashaway*, a small Town of about fifty Families, was assaulted *Febr.* 10, 1675, by five hundred *Indians* in five several Companies; yet they took but one Garison-house; wherein were forty two Persons, but eight or nine Soldiers, whereof but one escaped; the Rest were Women and Children, who were most of them

<sup>54</sup> This probably has Reference to "one Wright," who was so crazy from fanaticism, as to suppose that carrying a Bible about with him, singing Psalms and praying would shield him from all Harm from the Indians. See *Old Indian Chronicles*, 85. Wright probably belonged to *Warwick*. See Note 248, and Mather's *Brief History*, 126.

returned after some Months Captivity.<sup>55</sup> And to prevent Mistakes, let it here be observed, that none of the Women were abused, or murdered, but one that was big with Child, unable to travel, and much discontented; whom the *Indians*, having made a great Fire, and gathered a Ring about her, first knocked her on the Head, after they had pulled off her Clothes, then barbarously cast her into the Fire. No Credit is to be given to any other Reports of Cruelty towards any English Woman in that Part of the Country.

23. *Groton* surprized *March 2*, as is related *Pag.* 60, and 61; the Place consisting of about sixty Families, was soon after deserted, yet are there fourteen or fifteen Houses left standing to this Day, though not inhabited for the present, *Pag.* 73.

25. *Wickford*, where was *Mr. Smith's* House the Rendezvouz of our Soldiers the last Winter, when they spoiled the *Narbaganset Fort*.

28. *Medfield*, a midling Town, ten or twelve Miles beyond *Dedham*, surprized by the *Indians*;

<sup>55</sup> A welcome Ray of Light is shed on this Passage from an Extract of a Letter written by Major Talcott, dated Norwich, May 31<sup>st</sup> (1676). "The Day before, 18 Wabaquasset Indians, with seventy Women and Children, came in to Norwich, bringing with them two young English Captives, of 12 and 10 years of Age, belonging, one to Sudbury and the other to Nashaway;

The Lads Names are Joseph Joslyn and John Jacus." [Jacobs?] Talcott mentions a "Mayd" as one of the Captives, and says he had "given an Order to ship the two Lads and the Mayd on Scipp<sup>r</sup> Prentice, now at Norwich with his Vessel," to be conveyed to Boston and delivered to Gov. Leverett. *Col. Rec. Connecticut*, ii, 450-1.



seventeen Persons slain, and much of the Town burned, *Pag.* 61, 62.

31. *Marlborough*, a Town ten Miles beyond *Sudbury*, in the Way to *Connecticut*, the People repairing in Time to Garison-houses, were not many of them slain; yet were many or most of their Houses burned that were deserted, *March* 26, 1676.

32. *Sudbury*, a convenient Town, violently assaulted *Apr.* 18, 1676, [v] *Page* 79. by eight or nine hundred *Indians* (the Inhabitants speak of fourteen hundred) a tripartite Company intending to have carried all before them, yet slew but three of the Inhabitants, besides ten or eleven that came to their Relief from *Concord*, that were sadly lost for want of good Conduct, *Febr.* 1. 1675.<sup>56</sup> *Tho. Eames* his House at a Farm three Miles distant from the Town, his Corn, Cattel, Barns all burned, his Family captivated, the next Day his Son's Wife died, *Eames* himself being from Home.

33. *Concord*, a considerable Town five or six Miles to the North-west of *Sudbury*; they sustained not much Damage in the Town, save only some Farms that were at some Distance therefrom: two Men threshing at a Barn, a young Maid set to Watch, was carried Captive, and the Men both slain, the Maid strangely escaped soon after, *Pag.* 80.

<sup>56</sup> This probably has Reference to the Attack on a Company of Men under Capt. Edward Cowell of Boston, who had been to Quabaog Fort as a Convoy to Provisions for that Garrison.

34. *Gbelmsford*, where were many deserted Houses burned in the Beginning of *April* 1676. belonging to one *Ed. Colburn*, that had formerly purchased the Seat of Capt. Web.<sup>57</sup> And to *Samuel Varnham*, who had two Sons slain in the Boat as they were passing the River.

35. *Andover*, a small Town fifteen Miles west from *Ipswich*; where also in *April* was one or two killed, and one taken Captive.<sup>58</sup>

36, 37, 38. *Hingham* and *Weymouth*, in each of which was one or two killed, *Apr.* 19, 1676, in the same Month two or three were killed at *Andover*, *Haverhill*, *Bradford*.

39. *Woburn*, where some skulking *Indians* that had robbed some of their Gardens at *Cambridge*, of *Linnen*, came into a House, killed a Woman and two Children; but being pursued and shot at, as they sat by a Swamp side, they dropped their Bundle of *Linnen*, in which was found wrapt up the Scalp of one or both the Children.<sup>59</sup>

40. *Casco*, a large Bay scatteringly inhabited and full of Islands, where Sept. 1675, Mr. *Purchase* his House was plundered.

Sept. 9, following, *Wakely's* House and Family was spoiled.

<sup>57</sup> Capt. John Webb. He is the same who came over in the *James* of London, which sailed from Hampton "about the 5th of Aprill, 1635." In a List of the Passengers his Name is "John Euered, alias Webb." See *Founders of New England*, 56, by which it appears he came from Marlborough in Wilts. He died be-

fore the Commencement of the War.

<sup>58</sup> See Page 221, *ante*; also a Note in Mather's *Brief History*, 132-3.

<sup>59</sup> Hannah, wife of Samuel Richard, and her only Child Hannah, one Week old are killed at Woburn by the Indians. Also Thomas, Son of said R. *Woburn Records*, April 10th, 1676.

12. ditto. Two Houses burned of Mr. *Mount-joy's*, and two young Men slain as they were fowling.

19. One slain at *Blew-Point*, another wounded, so as he died the next Day.

20. A Man and Wife slain.

*Octob.* 19. following, eleven or twelve Houses burned at *Scarborough* a Place not far from *Casco*, with five hundred Bushels of Corn in Barns.

*Octob.* 9. Lieut. *Augur* mortally wounded, and his Brother slain; and two more wounded.

10. ditto. *Henry Williams* sorely wounded on *Sawco* Sands or Downs, marvelously escaped from two *Indians* passing to *Black-point*.

[VI] 13. Capt. *Wincol*, that came to relieve *Black-Point* had two of his Men slain, and two more with an Inhabitant wounded; himself and his Party engaged the same Day with an hundred *Indians* or more, yet was delivered by the Shelter of an Heap of Bolts: But nine Men coming to their Relief from *Sawco*, were all slain on the *Downs* the same Day: *Thomas Rogers*, one of the nine, his House burned the next Day. *Part.* 2. *Page* 25, 26.

15. Lieutenant *Alcock* of *Kittery* buried them.<sup>60</sup>

16. ditto., The Body of *Winter-harbour* Houses were fired by the Enemy; three Men slain, and one Woman carried away.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>60</sup> This Note of the Author has reference to the Men who went to the Relief of Capt. Wincall. See *Page* [26, Vol. ii. See also Folsom's *Saco and Bid.*, 159.

<sup>61</sup> Winter Harbor is some fix

17. Six Houses fired on the North-side of *Sawco River*.

18. Six or seven Houses fired by the Enemy at *Sawco* by Night, which were the first that were fired in the Night-time.<sup>61</sup>

50. *Sawco*, where Major *Philips* his Habitation was assaulted, Sept. 18. 1675. *Pag.* 16, 17.

The 3d of *November*, twenty of the Inhabitants of *Scarborough*, or *Black-Point*, were set upon by sixty *Indians*, by whom they had been destroyed, but the Ensign, *Tipping*, the Week before, sent from *Boston* for the Relief of that Place, came seasonably to their Relief.<sup>62</sup>

6. *ditto*, A *Boston* Soldier was mortally wounded: several Houses that Day burned; yet were they by the Valour of the English beaten into Swamps,

Miles from *Saco*, and was so named from an early Settler named *Winter*, doubtless the well known Mr. John *Winter*.

<sup>61</sup> I do not find any Statement as to the Locality of the Houses destroyed, or to whom they belonged.

<sup>62</sup> Under Date of Oct. 25th, 1676, is found the following Order upon the *General Court Records*: "Whereas *Joshua Scottow* is now sending forth a small Vessel or two with Company for the Discovery of the State of the Fort at *Black Point*, and transport of what may be there recoverable, either of his or any of the Inhabitants, if it is ordered, that the said Vessels and Persons by him sent shall be and hereby are ex-

empted from Impresse upon any other of the Countrys Employ; and *Bartholomew Tipping* comended as a fitt Person to take the Charge of such as are to land, in Case he shall judge the Place tenable, he shall be and hereby is impowered to impresse the Company now sent, and any other of the Inhabitants, or other Persons which may be there found, to looke after Plunder or their own Estates, and to defend and keepe the Place from the Enemy until further Order; and the said *Scottow* hath Liberty to impresse some Inhabitants of *Black Point*, who lye latent; he, the said *Scottow*, carrying it on at his own Charge."



but what Number of them was slain is uncertain.

21. Two Houses more burnt at *Sawco*.

51. *Wells*, Where two or three were killed, Part 2. Page 26.

55. *Falmouth*, on the hither Side of *Casca Bay*, where *August* 11, about thirty four Persons were killed and taken by the *Indians*, P. 32, 33, 34.

54. *Spurwinck* and *Richmonds Island*, where Mr. *Friers Ketch*, with ten Men, was taken, *Octob.* 11, 1676, Part 2. Page 45, 46.

47. *York*: At Cape *Nidduck*, belonging thereunto, were seven barbarously murdered, Sep. 25, 1676. Part 2. Page 51.

58. *Totonnock Fort*, which lies up *Kennibeck River*, whither the *Indians* are said to have fled, when Major *Walden* arrived there with his Soldiers in *February* last, 1676, and from whence the Enemy came down when they seized the Inhabitants of *Kennibeck*, and *Arrowfick Island*, Aug. 11, 1676. which is situate in the Mouth of the said River.<sup>63</sup>

It is reported by some of the Inhabitants of *Kennibeck*, lately fled, or rather driven from thence, that about five Years since four English-men were slain by the *Amoroscoggin Indians* up *Pegypscot River*, that runs into *Kennibeck*; but it was con-

<sup>63</sup> Waldron's Expedition was in February, 1677; yet the Author is right in placing it in 1676, because it was before Newyear's Day, 1677, as the mode of Reckoning then was. See Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, 78, Edition 1831. See also Hubbard's *Hist. N. Eng.*, 630, 631.

cealed by the wicked Traders of those Parts, for fear of discovering their wicked Manner of trading with the [VII] Heathen ; which if it had been duly enquired into when it was first done, much of what followed might have been prevented,<sup>64</sup>

— *Quid non mortalia pectora cogis*  
*Auri sacra Fames ?*

But such Gains have proved like *Aurum Trouloufanum* to some of the Inhabitants of those Parts.

*Kennibek*, How taken and when, Part 2. Page 41 ; there is said to be about fifty three killed and taken about *Kennibek*; and at *Arrowick Island* Aug. 13. 1676.

<sup>64</sup> I have met with no Particulars of this Affair.



[VIII] A Postscript.<sup>65</sup>

CONCERNING the *Narbagansets*, this is further to be added here, That Mr. *Thomas Stanton*, and his Son Robert, who having a long Time lived amongst them, and best acquainted with their Language and Manners of any in *New-England*, do affirm, that to their Knowledge the *Narbaganset* Sachims, before the late Troubles, had two thousand fighting Men under them, and nine hundred Arms; yet are they at this Day so broken and scattered, that there is none of them left on that side of the Country, unless some few, not exceeding seventy in Number, that have sheltered themselves under the Inhabitants of *Road-Island*, as a Merchant of that Place worthy of Credit lately affirmed to the Writer hereof. It is considerable by what Degrees they have been consumed and destroyed.

The first Week in *April* last, viz. 1676, *Canonchet* their chief Sachim, having with this People been driven out of his own Country by the Sword of the English the Winter before, breathed still

<sup>65</sup> This "POSTSCRIPT" appears to have been the Result of Information obtained after the previous Part was printed.

nothing but Rage and Cruelty against them, bearing himself upon his great Numbers: yet as appeared in the Issue, himself and they that escaped with him, were not so much preserved from the present Calamity that befell the Rest in their Fort, as reserved to another and more ignominious Death. For all the whole Body of the *Indians* to the Westward trusting under the Shadow of the aspiring Bramble; he took a kind of Care of them upon himself. Wherefore foreseeing so many hundreds could not well subsist without planting: he propounded it in his Council, that all the West-plantations upon *Connecticut River*, taken from the English, should this last Summer be planted with *Indian-corn*; which was indeed in it self a very prudent Consideration: To that End he resolved to venture himself with but thirty Men (the Rest declining it) to fetch a Seed-corn from *Seaconk*, the next Town to Mount-hope; leaving a Body of Men, not fewer than fifteen hundred to follow him or meet him about *Seaconk* the Week after. This Adventure brought him into the Snare, from whence he could not escape: For Capt. *George Denison* of *Stonington*, and Capt. [James] *Avery* of *New-London*, having raised forty seven English, the most Part Volunteers, [IX] with eighty *Indians*, twenty of which were *Narhaganjets* belonging to *Ninigret*, commanded by one called *Catapazer*.<sup>66</sup> The rest

<sup>66</sup> *Catapazet* in the first Edition; spelling the Name is *Catapazat*, as but the Author's usual method of will be seen.



*Pequods* under *Casafinnamon*, and *Mobegins* under *Oneco*, Son to *Uncas*, being now abroad upon their third Expedition, which they began *March* the twenty seventh, 1676, and ended on the tenth of *April* following. They met with a stout *Indian* of the Enemies, whom they presently slew, and two old *Squaws*, that confessed *Nanunttenoo*, alias *Canunchat* (those chief Sachims usually changing their Names at every great Dance, and by that Name of *Nanunttenoo* was he then known) was not far off; which welcom News put new Life into the wearied Soldiers, that had travelled hard many Days, and met with no Booty till now; especially when it was confirmed by Inteligence the same Instant, brought in by their Scouts, that they met with new Tracts which brought them in View of some Wigwams not far from *Patucket*,<sup>67</sup> by some called *Blackstones River*, in one of which the Said Sachim was at that Moment divertizing himself, with the Recital of Capt. *Pierces* Slaughter, surprized by his Men a few Days before;<sup>68</sup> but the Alarm of the English at that Time heard by himself, put by that Discourse, appalled with

<sup>67</sup> Since usually written *Pawtucket*.

<sup>68</sup> This, I believe, is the only Authority for the Statement that *Nanunttenoo* was at the Fight at Abbot's Run, on the 26th of March, 1676. The Language of the Author will admit of two Constructions, as is seen by an Analysis of it; that *Nanunttenoo was*, or that he *was not* at that Fight. If the Chief was diverting himself by *his own* Recital

of it, it would be quite clear that he was in it; but on the other Hand, if he were being diverted by the Recital of another, it is quite as clear that he was not in that Fight. Again, the Phrase, "*surprised by his Men* a few Days before," seems to be pretty conclusive that he was not there. However, the Reader is at Liberty to settle the Question as he pleases.

the suddenness thereof, as if he had been informed by secret Item from Heaven, that now his own Turn was come: so as having but seven Men about him, he sent up two of them to the Top of the Hill to see what the Matter was; but they, afrighted with the near Approach of the English, at that Time with great Speed mounted over a fair Champagn on the other Side of the Hill, ran by, as if they wanted Time to tell what they saw. Presently he sent a third who did the like. Then sending two more on the same Errand; one of these last, either indued with more Courage, or a better sense of his Duty, informed him in great haste that all the English Army was upon him: Whereupon, having no Time to consult, and but little to attempt an Escape, and no Means to defend himself, he began to Dodg with his Pursuers, running round the Hill on the contrary Side; but as he was running so hastily by, *Catapazat* with twenty of his followers, and a few of the English, light of Foot, guessed by the Swiftnes of his Motion, that he fled as if an Enemy, which made them immediately take the Chase after him as for their Lives; he that was the swifter Pursuer, put him so hard to it, that he cast off first his Blanket, then his Silver-lac'd Coat (given him at *Boston* as a Pledg of their Friendship, upon the Renewal of his League in October before),<sup>69</sup> and *Belt of Peag*, which made *Catapazat* conclude it was the right Bird, which made them pursue

<sup>69</sup> See Note 389, Page 182, *ante*.

as eagerly as the other fled ; so as they forced him to take the Water, through which as he over hastily plunged, his Foot slipping upon a Stone, it made [x] him fall into the Water so deep, as it wetted his Gun, upon which Accident, he confessed soon after, that his Heart and his Bowels turned within him, so as he became like a rotten Stick, void of Strength ; infomuch, as one *Mono-paide* a *Pequod*, swiftest of Foot, laid hold of him within thirty Rod of the River Side without his making any Resistance ; though he was a very proper Man, of goodly Stature, and great Courage of Mind, as well as Strength of Body. One of the first English that came up with him was *Robert Stanton*, a young Man that scarce had reached the twenty second Year of his Age, yet adventuring to ask him a Question or two, to whom this manly Sachim looking with a little Neglect upon his youthful Face, replied in broken English ; you much Child, no understand Matters of War ; let your Brother or your Chief come, him I will Answer, and was as good as his Word. Acting herein as if by a *Pythagorean Metempsychosis*, some old Roman Ghost had possessed the Body of this Western Pagan : And like *Attilius Regulus*, he would not accept of his own Life, when it was tendered him, upon that (in his Account) low Condition of Compliance with the English ; refusing to send an old Counsellor of his to make any Motion that Way ; saying, he knew the *Indians* would not yield ; but more

probably he was not willing they should, chusing rather to sacrifice his own, and his Peoples Lives to his private Humour of Revenge, than timely to provide for his own, and their Safety, by entertaining the Counsels of a Peace, so necessary for the general good of all. He continuing in the same his obstinate Resolution, was carried soon after to *Stonington*, where he was shot to Death by some of his own Quality, *sc.* the young Sachim of the *Mohegins*, and two of the *Pequods* of like Quality. This was the Confusion of a damned Wretch, that had often opened his Mouth to blaspheme the Name of the living God, and those that make Profession thereof. He was told at large of his Breach of Faith, and how he boasted he would not deliver up a *Wampanoog*, or the paring of a *Wampanoogs* Nail; that he would burn the English alive in their Houses; to which he replied, others were as forward for the War as himself, and that he desired to hear no more thereof. And when he was told his Sentence was to dye, he said, he liked it well, that he should dye before his Heart was soft, or had spoken any thing unworthy of himself. He told the English before they put him to Death, that the killing him would not end the War; but it was a considerable Step thereunto, nor did it live much longer after his Death, at least not in those Parts: For after Sudbury Fight, when the Sun of their Hopes was at its highest, *April* the 18<sup>th</sup> follow-



ing,<sup>70</sup> it visibly declined, till it set in a Night of obscure and utter Darkneſs upon them all, as is to be feared.

[xI] The Inhabitants of *New-London, Norwiche,* and *Stonington*, apprehenſive of their Danger by Reaſon of the near bordering of the Enemy, and upon other prudent Conſiderations, voluntarily liſted themſelves under ſome able Gentlemen, and reſolute Soldiers, amongſt themſelves, Major *Palmes*,<sup>71</sup> Capt. *George Deniſon*, Captain *Avery*, with whom or under whom, within the Compaſs of the Year, 1676, they made ten or more ſeveral Expeditions; in all which, at thoſe ſeveral Times they killed and took two hundred and thirty nine of the Enemy, by the Help and Aſſiſtance of the *Pequods, Mobeſſins*, and a few friendly *Narbaganſets*. Beſides thirty taken in the long March homeward, after the Fort Fight, *December* the 19<sup>th</sup>, 1675, and beſides ſixteen captived in the ſecond Expedition, not reckoned within the Compaſs of the ſaid Number: together with fifty Guns; and ſpoiling the Enemy of ſeven hundred Buſhels of Corn.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>70</sup> This Date ſhould be *April 21ſt*. The Error has been already pointed out. There appears to have been an earlier Attack on Sudbury, which cauſed the Author to confound the Latter with the Former. See Mather, *Brief Hiſtory*, 123.

<sup>71</sup> Major Edward Palmes. In the late Editions of this Work the

Name is printed *Palmer*, miſleading us among others. He was a diſtinguiſhed Gentleman of New London, and died there, 21ſt March, 1714-15, in his 78<sup>th</sup> Year.

<sup>72</sup> See Trumbull, *Hiſt. of Conn*, i, 43. Holmes's *Amer. Annals*, i, 381-2. Concerning the Long March, ſee *News from N. England*, P. 10.

In *January* they went again in Pursuit, and took five Men and a Boy.

Certain *Nipnets* intended to have sheltered themselves under *Uncas*; but he perceiving it would be distastful to the English, soon shab'd them off; so as they were in the Beginning of the Winter brought into *Boston*, many of them by *Peter Ephraim*, and *Andrew Pityme*, with their Fellows.<sup>73</sup>

In all which Exploits, neither they nor any of their Followers sustained any Loss by the Sword of the Enemy, or Sicknefs: As is expressly declared by the Reverend Minister of *Stonington*, Mr. *James Noyce*, which is a Matter very admirable to consider, engaging all that were any Way concerned in such signal Testimonies of Divine Favour, to be ready to pay their Vows to the Most High, who alone teacheth the Hands of his People to war, and their Fingers to fight.

But the greatest Blow given to the *Narhagansets* was by Connecticut Forces under Major *Talcot*, *July* the second, as is related, Part I. Page 97.

Amongst the Rest of the Prisoners then taken, was a young sprightly Fellow, seized by the *Mobegins*; who desired of the English Commanders that he might be delivered into their Hands, that

<sup>73</sup> These two Indians had been subjected to great Hardships and Wrongs by the rough Usage of Men in Power. But they proved faithful to the Last. Ephraim had a Commission as Captain at the Close of the War. See *Book of the Indians*, 276. See also *ante* 285.

they might put him to Death, *more majorem*; sacrifice him to their cruel Genius of Revenge, in which brutish and devilish Passion they are most of all delighted: The English though not delighted in Blood, yet at this Time were not unwilling to gratify their Humour, lest by a Denial they might disoblige their *Indian* Friends, of whom they lately made so much use: Partly also that they might have an ocular Demonstration of the Salvage, barbarous Cruelty of these Heathen: And indeed, of all the Enemies that have been the Subjects of the precedent Discourse, this Villian did most deserve to become an Object of Justice and Severity: For he boldly told them, that he had with his Gun dispatched nineteen English, and that he had [xii] charged it for the twentieth; but not meeting with any of ours, and unwilling to lose a fair Shot, he had let fly at a *Mobegin*, and killed him, with which, having made up his Number, he told them he was fully satisfied. But as is usually said, Justice *Vindictive* hath Iron Hands, though Leaden Feet; this cruel Monster is fallen into their Power, that will repay him seven-fold: In the first Place therefore, making a great Circle, they placed him in the Middle, that all their Eyes might at the same Time, be pleased with the utmost Revenge upon him. They first cut one of his Fingers round in the Joynt, at the Trunck of his Hand, with a sharp Knife, and then brake it off, as Men used to do with a slaughtered Beast, before they un-

case him ; then they cut off another and another, till they had dismembered one Hand of all its Digits, the Blood sometimes spirting out in Streams a Yard from his Hand, which barbarous and unheard of Cruelty, the English were not able to bear, it forcing Tears from their Eyes ; yet did not the Sufferer ever relent, or shew any Sign of Anguish : For being asked by some of his Tormentors, how he liked the War ? He might have replied, as the Scotch Gentleman did after the Loss of a Battel, that being asked how he liked the Match, *sc.* with our Prince of *Wales*, (which then was the Occasion of the Quarrel) made Answer, he liked the Match well enough, but no whit liked the Manner of the Wooing written by such Lines of Blood ; but this unsensible and hard-hearted Monster answered, He liked it very well, and found it as sweet, as English Men did their Sugar. In this Frame he continued, till his Executioners had dealt with the Toes of his Feet, as they had done with the Fingers of his Hands ; all the while making him Dance round the Circle, and Sing, till he had wearied both himself and them. At last they brake the Bones of his Legs, after which he was forced to sit down, which 'tis said he silently did, till they had knocked out his Brains. Instances of this Nature should be Incentive unto us, to bless the Father of Lights, who hath called us out of the dark Places of the Earth, full of the Habitations of Cruelty. When the Day-spring from on high shall visit those that



fit in this Region of Darkneſs, another Spirit will be poured upon them, and then the Feet of them that bring the glad Tidings of Goſpel-Salvation will appear more beautiful to them than at preſent they ſeem to do. And when theſe Mountains of Prey ſhall become the holy Mountain of the Lord, they ſhall neither hurt, nor deſtroy, nor exerciſe Cruelty therein.

Moreover in the beginning of *April*, 1677, certain Intelligence came from *Pascataqua* that ſome ſtrange *Indians* had fallen upon Major *Walderns Indians*, and deſtroyed ſeveral of them.

It is alſo informed, that the *Indians* of *Kenni-beck* have lately ſurprized [XIII] five or ſix of the Soldiers by an Ambuſh, as they were about to have buried ſome of the Bodies of their Friends, ſlain in thoſe Parts before the laſt Winter: And that they had the laſt Week done the like Miſchief to ſuch a Number of the Inhabitants of *Black-Point*, which is a ſolemn Prefage of another Storm like to fall upon thoſe Eaſtern Parts, unleſs God prevent, this Summer enſuing.

For the further Satisfaction of the Reader concerning the perfidioufness and falshness of our Enemies, and the Justice of our Cause, we shall close this Narrative with the Articles which *Philip*, Sachim of *Paukamaket*, or *Mount hope*, subscribed in the Year, 1671.<sup>74</sup>

**WE** *PHILIP* and my Council and my Subjects, do acknowledg our selves Subject to his Majesty the King of England, and the Governement of New-Plimouth, and to their Laws.

2. I am willing, and do promise to pay unto the Government of Plimouth, one hundred Pounds in such Things as I have: but I would intreat the Favour that I might have three Years to pay it in, forasmuch as I cannot do it at present.

3. I do promise to send unto the Governor, or whom he shall appoint, five Wolves Heads, if I can get them: or as many as I can procure, until they come to five Wolves yearly.

4. If any Difference fall between the English and my self, and Peeople, then I do promise to repair to the Governor of Plimouth, to rectifie the difference amongst us.

5. I do promise not to make War with any, but with the Governors Approbation of Plimouth.

6. I promise, not to dispose of any of the Lands

<sup>74</sup> The full Date was perhaps accidentally omitted. It should be "September 29th, 1671." But the Date is not the only Omission, as will be seen by the Signatures on the ensuing Page.

*that I have at present, but by the Approbation of the Governor of Plimouth.*

For the true Performance of the Premises of the said Sachim, *Philip* of *Paukamakett*, do hereby bind my self, and such of my Council as are present, our selves, our Heirs, our Successors, faithfully, and to promise, in witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our Hands, the Day and Year above written ;

<i>In the presence of the Court and divers of the Magistrates and other Gentlemen of the Massachusetts and Connecticut.</i>	<i>The mark P of Philip, the Sachim of Paukamakett.<sup>75</sup></i>
	<i>The mark [ of Vncompaen.</i>
	<i>The mark [ of Wolokom.</i>
	<i>The mark 7 of Samkama.<sup>76</sup></i>

<sup>75</sup> "*Paukanaukett*," in the original Records.

<sup>76</sup> The Signatures to the original Treaty are as follows :

The Marke *P* of PHILLIP, Sachem.

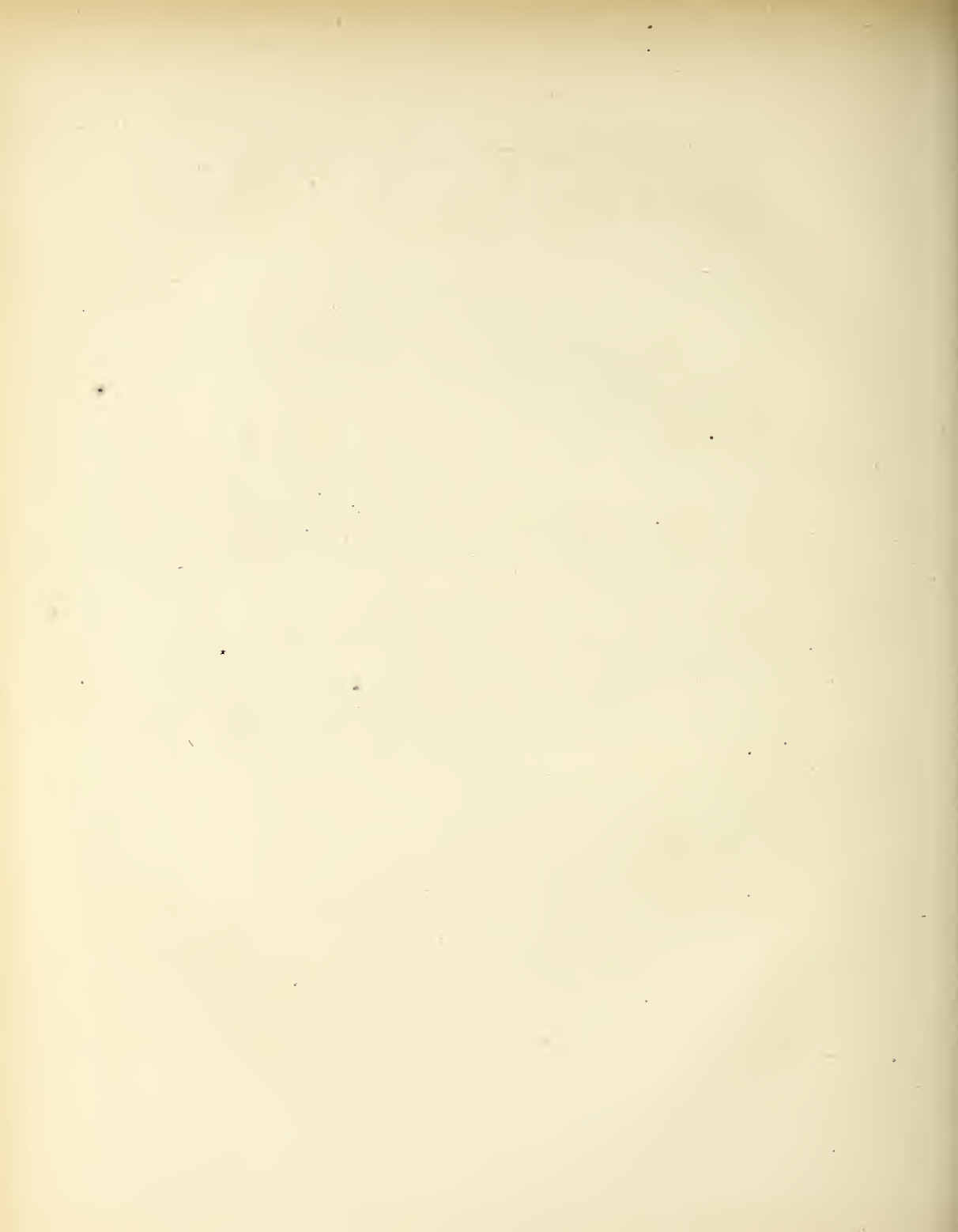
The Marke *A* of WOHKOW-PAHEN'IT.

The Marke of *7* WUTTA-KOOSSEIM.

The Marke of *A* SONKANU-HOO.

The Marke of *W* WOONASHUM, alias NIMROD.

The Marke of *Y* WOOSPASUCK, alies CAPTAINNE.







A  
NARRATIVE  
OF THE  
T R O U B L E S  
WITH THE  
I N D I A N S  
IN  
*NEW-ENGLAND,*  
From *Pascataqua* to *Pemmaquid*.<sup>77</sup>



THE Occasion, Rise and Progress of the War with the *Indians* in the Southern and Western Parts of *New England*, together with the Issue and Success thereof, hath in the former Part of this *Narrative* been already declared. Before an Entrance be made into a Relation of those Troubles that befell the Eastern and Northern Parts of the said Country

<sup>77</sup> Some Copies of this Part were issued by themselves, or at least one was so issued, which I possessed, but

that is the only Copy I ever heard of. It is our only Record of many highly important Events.

from the *Indians* inhabiting those Parts, it will be requisite to give some general Description of the Place, as being less frequented, and so more unknown than the other; like Heraulds that use to Blazon the Field before they meddle with the Charge, as an Historian once said; that so the Reader may not miss the Truth in Story, by being unacquainted with the Places whereon the Discourse proceedeth. Briefly therefore, that more Cost and Pains be not spent in the surveying a barren and rocky Country, than will quit Cost, the List or Border here being known to be more worth than the whole Cloth, that whole Tract of Land, being of little worth, unless it were for the Borders thereof upon the Sea-coast, and some Spots and Skirts<sup>78</sup> of more desirable Land upon the Banks of some Rivers, how much soever it be valued by them that know nothing [2] thereof, but by the uncertain and fallible Reports of such as have only sailed by the Country, or viewed some of the Rivers and Havens, but never passed through the Heart of the Continent. The whole being scarce worth half those Mens Lives that have been lost these two last Years, in hope to save it.

<sup>78</sup> The Sea Border of Maine, when Mr. Hubbard wrote, was indeed a narrow "Skirt," and was peopled by not more probably than 5000 Inhabitants. As Affairs then stood it is not strange that the Author's Views were also a little narrow,

something like the *Border* he was describing. Could his Vision have grasped 200 Years he would have seen that Border expand into a great Commonwealth, maintaining at least 700,000 Souls, and capable of sustaining 700,000 more.

This north Part of *New-England*, did first, like *Zarah*,<sup>79</sup> put forth its hand, thereby inviting the Adventurers to twist the *Scarlet Thred* of their Hopes about the same: By that auspicious Beginning, they were ready to promise themselves great Prosperity, in having that Advantage before others, to plant and people that Part of the Country.<sup>80</sup>

But that fair Opportunity was almost quite lost, by some fatal and michievous Accidents happening soon after that noble Enterprize was first set a-foot, as hath been already in part, and may hereafter more fully be declared.

The first Place that ever was possessed by the English, in the Hope of making a Plantation in those Parts, was a Tract of Land on the West-side of the River of *Kennibeck*, then called *Sagatarwocke*, fence *Saga-de-bocke*; other Places adjoining were soon after seized, and improved for Trading and Fishing. The more Remote and furthest Northward, at the Time belonging to the English (*Penobscot*, forty Years since being surprized by the *French*, and by them held at this Day,<sup>81</sup> is called *Pemmaquid*) distant seven or eight Leagues from *Kennibeck*, and is the utmost Boundary of *New-England*, being about forty Leagues distant from the Mouth of *Pascataqua*

<sup>79</sup> *Zarai*? “Zara, a City of Moab. It was taken by Alexander Janæus.” *Parish, Sac. Geog.*

<sup>80</sup> This is in reference to the Sagadahock Colony.

<sup>81</sup> This Conquest was in 1635. See the Particulars in *Bradford's Hist. Plymouth Plantation*; also *Winthrop's Journal*. I do not see that Charlevoix takes Notice of it.

*River.* That *Pemmaquid* is a very commodious Haven for Ships, and hath been found very advantageous to such as use to come upon these Coasts to make Fishing-voyages; South-west, or South-east, from whence, about six or seven Leagues lies an Island called *Monbiggon*, of much use on the same Account for Fishing, it lying three or four Leagues into the Sea from *Damarils Cove* (a Place of like Advantage for the Stages of Fishermen in former Times). There have been for a long Time seven or eight considerable Dwellings about *Pemmaquid*, which is well accommodated with Pasture Land about the Haven for feeding Cattel, and some Fields also for Tillage; All the Land improvable for such Uses, being already taken up by such a Number of Inhabitants as is already mentioned.

In the Mouth of the River of *Kennibek* lies a considerable Island called *Arowsick*, some Years since purchased by Major [Thomas] *Clark*, and Capt [Thomas] *Lake* two Merchants of *Boston*: on which they built several large Dwellings with a Warehouse, and many other Edifices near the Water-side; it being intended by the Owners for a Place of Trading, as well as [3] Planting; there being many of late seated there, fit to carry on each Design; where also was built a Fort, which if it had been carefully defended, might have proved the Defence and Security of all that Side of the Country, as it used to be their Magazine up higher beyond the River of *Kennibek*. Four



Leagues Eastward, toward *Pemmaquid*, is another considerable River called *Ships-coat*,<sup>82</sup> upon the Banks of which were many scattered Planters, who lately flying from their Dwellings for Fear of the *Indians*, left, as was judged, a thousand Head of Neat Cattel for the Use of the *Indians*, that made the late Insurrection against the Inhabitants of those Parts, besides the Fields and Barns full of Corn.

There is another River that issues into *Kennibek*, a little higher up into the Country, called *Pegypscot*, that comes down from behind *Casco Bay*. This *Pegypscot* is the Seat of the *Amoscogging*<sup>83</sup> *Indians*, who have had a great if not the principal Hand in the late Mischiefs.

Some few Leagues to the South of *Kennibek*, lies that famous and spacious Haven called *Casco Bay*: The North-east Cape of which is made by an Island called *Saguin*; The Southern or opposite Point of Land is called *Cape Elizabeth*, which is in the Bosom of this *Bay*, being about eight or nine Leagues over at the Mouth of it, and abundance of small Islands, many of them being inhabited by Fishermen, and others: One of the Principal of that Sort is called *Jewel's Island*. There are many Places about this *Bay*, fit to make commodious Habitations; and on the South-side

<sup>82</sup> The modern *Sheepscot*, in Lincoln County; long since lined with flourishing commercial Towns.

<sup>83</sup> Those Indians took their Name from the River *Amoscoggin*, (now

*Androscoggin*) or gave Name to that River. On a very beautiful Map of New England, published in England in 1774, the Name is spelled *Ammoriskogbin*.

of it, is a small Village called *Falmouth*; all, or most of it, lately destroyed by the *Indians*.

Not far from *Casco* to the Southward, or South-west, still is a River called *Spurwinks*, over against which lies *Richmond Island*, not far from the main Land, being divided therefrom by a small Channel, fordable at Low-water; It hath for a long Time been the Seat of Mr. *Jordan*, in right of Mr. *Winter*, the former, if not the first Proprietor thereof, whose Daughter he married.

The next Plantation Southward is called *Scarborough*, a small Village seated upon Black-point; over against which is another Point, for Distinction from the former called *Blue-point*: This *Black-Point* was lately the Seat of Mr. [Henry] *Josselin*, being a Parcel of the Province of *Maine*, or falling within the Precincts thereof, and was formerly by Patent granted to the said *Josselin* or his Predecessors, since purchased by Mr. [*Joshua*] *Scotto* of *Boston*.

*Saco River* lies next in Order to *Pascataqua*, a navigable River; where Major *Philips* had a commodious Scituation lately; at the Mouth of which River lies Winter-harbour, encompassed on one Side by a [4] Neck of Land, formerly the Property of one Mr. *Winter*, whose Name it still retains, but lately purchased by Major *Pendleton*,<sup>84</sup> where he enjoyed a very comfortable Seat and Habitation.

<sup>84</sup> Major *Bryan Pendleton*. His Editor. See Memoir of him in Autograph is in Possession of the *Williamson*, *Hist. Maine*, i, 686.

There is another Harbour lying a little Southward of *Saco*, made by that which is called *Cape Corpuisse*; a convenient Seat for Fishermen, as are most of the other Places above named. Between *Cape Porpuisse* and *Pascataqua*, there are but two small Towns more (though ambitious of great Names) the one called *Wells*, the other *York: Wells* is seated upon a small River<sup>85</sup> or Creek, affording a small Harbour fit only for Barks and smaller Vessels: on each Side of which Town lies a small River, the first called *Kennibunk*, the second *Maguncuck*: the other Town is called *York*, formerly known by the Name of *Agamenticus*, from an high Hill of that Name, not far off therefrom. The Point of Land which lies between the said Towns, is called *Cape Nidduck*, making a small Harbour likewise, into which issues another pretty River, on the Banks of which is scituate the Town of *York*. All or most of forementioned Towns and Plantations are seated upon, and near some River greater or lesser, whose Streams are principally improved for the driving of Saw-mills: Those late Inventions, so useful for the Destruction of Wood and Timber, specially of Fir-trees, which no doubt so abound in those Coasts, that there is scarce a River or Creek in those Parts that hath not some of those Engines erected upon them.

The upper Branches of the famous River *Pascataqua*, being also employed all of them

<sup>85</sup> Called *Webbannet*.

that Way : namely, *Sturgeon-Creek*, *Salmon Falls*, *Newechewannik*,<sup>86</sup> *Quechebo*,<sup>87</sup> *Oyster-River*,<sup>88</sup> *Swamscot*,<sup>89</sup> *Greenland*, *Lamprey-Eele-River*, together with the Towns of *Exeter* and *Dover*, seated upon, or near some of the main Branches thereof, whose principal Trade is in Deal-boards, cut by those Saw-mills, since their Rift Timber is near all consumed. On each Side of that brave navigable River of *Pascataqua* down towards the Mouth of it, are seated on the North-side the Town of *Kittary* (a long scattering Plantation made up of several Hamlets) : on the South-side the Town of *Portsmouth*, to which belongs the great Island, lying in the Mouth of the said River, a Place of considerable Trade these late Years, the which together with Strawberry-bank, the upper Part of the said Town of *Portsmouth*, are the Magazine, and chief or only Place of Commerce and Trade for all the Plantations, betwixt it and *Casco Bay* : All the said Plantations have in these last two Years, viz, 1675, 1676, felt more

<sup>86</sup> In, or a Portion of the present Town of Berwick, Maine. The River bears the Name of *Newechewannik*, or as it is now written—*Newickawannock*.

<sup>87</sup> This Name was changed to *Gocheco*, long since; the principal Settlement upon it taking the Name of the River. It is now Dover.

<sup>88</sup> The principal Settlement was so called, and finally Durham.

<sup>89</sup> This is the Name of the Falls in a Branch of the *Pascataqua*, at the

Head of Tidewater. It is usually written *Squamscot*. They were so named by the Indians on account of some peculiarity, and for the same Cause the Falls in the Connecticut River, elsewhere noticed, bore the Name of *Swamscot*. Mr. John Wheelwright purchased a large Tract of Country including these Falls, in 1629, and in 1637 settled there, called the Place *Exeter*, and thus became the Founder of New Hampshire.



or less of the Rage and Cruelty of the barbarous and perfidious *Indians* belonging to that Side of the Country, as shall more particularly be declared in what [5] follows, after a short Discourse of the first Planting that Side of the Country which may serve as a kind of Prologue to the following Tragedy.<sup>90</sup>

This Part of *New-England* began first to be planted about the same Time with *Virginia*, viz. in the Year 1606. There the first Letters Patents granted by the King for the Limitation of *Virginia*, did extend from 34 to 44 Degrees of North Latitude, and was divided into two Parts, namely the first and the second Colony; the former was appropriated to the City of *London*, the other to the Cities of *Bristol*, *Exeter*, and Town of *Plimouth*, each of which had Laws, Priviledges, and Authority for the Government and advancing their severall Plantations alike, as saith Capt. *Smith* in his general History of *Virginia* and *New-England*. This second Colony of *New-England* promising but little Advantage to the Undertakers, by Reason of its mountainous and rocky Scituation, found but few Adventurers forward to promote the Planting thereof, after the Death of Sir *John Popham*, who was the first that ever

<sup>90</sup> The Geography of the Coast of Maine being much better known than in the Author's Time, Notes here to elucidate it would be out of Place. For an interesting Descrip-

tion of the Bays, Rivers, Harbors and Islands of that extensively indented Seaboard, the Student will find Gratification in recurring to *Williamson's History of Maine*.

procured Men or Means to possess it; for when the main Pillars are removed, what can be expected but that the whole Building should fall to the Ground? Yet, notwithstanding the Discouragements the first Planters met withal in their first Winter seasoning, in that cold and rocky Desert (which made them all return Home in the Year 1608,) did Sir *Francis Popham* his Son, having the Ships and Provision which remained of the Company, and supplying what was necessary for his Purpose, send divers Times to the Coasts for Trade and Fishing, of whose Loss or Gain, as saith my Author,<sup>91</sup> himself was best able to give Account. And some of the Ships sent by him, and the Earl of *Southampton*, with other noble Adventurers, did bring Home a Son of the Natives of the Place in one of the next following Years, by whose Informations, some of the first Undertakers were encouraged once more to try the verity of their Hopes, and see if possibly they might find Something that could induce a fresh Resolution to prosecute so pious and honourable a Work.<sup>92</sup>

But in the mean Time before there was yet any Speech or Endeavour to settle any other Plantation in those Parts, that about *Sagadehock* being thus abandoned for the present by the first Undertakers, the *Frenchmen* immediately took

<sup>91</sup> Capt. Smith. See his *Historie of Virginia*, &c., ii, 174, Edition Richmond, 1819.

<sup>92</sup> See Mather's *Early Hist. New England*, Page 53, &c., where these Events are more fully set forth.

the Opportunity to settle themselves within our Limits, which being understood by those of Virginia, they discreetly taking into their consideration the Inconveniences that might arise by suffering them to harbor there, Sir *Samuel Argal* was sent with Commission to displace them, which he with great Discretion, Dex[6]terity and Judgment performed about the Year 1613. The which made Way for the Plantation at *Nova-Scotia*, granted afterwards by King *James* to Sir *William Alexander*, one of his Majesties most Honorable Council of *Scotland*. The said *Argal* seized the Forts which the *Frenchmen* had built at Mount *Mansel*, St. *Croix*, and *Port Real*, and carried away their Ordnance, with other Provisions, to the Colony of *Virginia*, to their great Benefit. The said Places were held by the English divers Years after, till about the Year 1635, by Commission from the Scotch Lord aforesaid; but how his Right came afterwards to be alienated to any of the *French* Nation, doth not concern us with Reference to the Business in Hand, further to enquire.

Things remaining in this Posture for the Space of near seven Years, some of the first Adventurers apprehensive of better Hopes of good that might ensue by a fresh Attempt, resolved to set the Design a Foot a second Time; to which End, several Ships were sent on that Account in the Year 1615, but with as bad Success as the former; for in the Year before, viz. 1614, Capt. *Smith*

desirous to promote the Colony of *New England*, as well as that of *Virginia*, came thither with two Vessels, and returned back to England in the lesser of them, with intent to be there again that next Year to promote the said Plantation; But after he was gone, one *Thomas Hunt*, Master of the Ship, he left behind, like a wicked Varlet, to prevent the carrying on the Plantation; that he and a few Merchants might wholly enjoy the Benefit of the Trade of the Country, after he had made his Voyage, seized upon four and twenty of the poor innocent Natives, that in Confidence of his Honesty, had put themselves into his Hands; then clapping them under Hatches, carried them away to *Malego*, whither he was bound with the Fish he had made upon the Coast, for that Market:<sup>93</sup> But this vile Act, although it kept him forever after from any more Employment in those Parts, yet that was the least Part of the Mischief that attended his wicked Practice; for upon the Arrival of the Adventurers Ships the next Year, two Natives of the Place that had been some Years in *England*, and coming back unto the said Ships, as soon as they understood the Injury so treacherously done to their Coun-

<sup>93</sup> It is hardly probable that the true Cause of Hunt's kidnapping Operation was understood by the Author. It would rather seem that Hunt did not imagine that stealing a few Indians would operate to cut off future Commerce, but that his sole Object was the immediate Profit

he might realize from the Sale of those Indians; for, his being debarred further Employment "in these Parts," is Evidence that he intended to continue his Traffic here in the same Line, which he could not have expected to do if the Result was as stated by the Author.



trymen, they contracted such an Hatred against our whole Nation, that although one of the said Natives dyed soon after, yet the other, called *Epenow*, studied how to be revenged, which he so far found Means to effect, that he frustrated this second Attempt of settling a Plantation in these Parts.<sup>94</sup>

Yet did not the Adventurers cast off all Hope of carrying on their Design, wherein Providence within a few Years after so favoured them [7] that one or more of the Salvages called *Tisquantum* and *Samoset*,<sup>95</sup> carried away by *Hunt*, was brought back to *New-found Land*, from whence he was soon after conveyed by the prudent Endeavour of Capt. *Mason*<sup>96</sup> (then Governour of the Plantation begun upon *New-found-Land*) into the Hands of some of the Adventurers, by whose Means they hoped to work a Peace betwixt the said Natives on that Coast where the Fire had been kindled before, for the Adventurers employed Capt. *Thomas Darmer*, a prudent and industrious Gentleman, to settle the Affairs of the Plantation,

<sup>94</sup> I have pretty fully narrated these Transactions in the *Book of the Indians*, and in the *History and Antiquities of Boston*.

<sup>95</sup> Supposed by some to have derived his Name from *Somerset*, a Tract of Country in Maine so named by Sir Ferdinando Gorges; and that when *Samoset* appeared among the People at Plimouth, in attempting to make them understand that he had

come from Sir Ferdinando's Colony of *Somerset*, they took his Pronunciation of the Name of that Place to be his own Name.

<sup>96</sup> There were three Captain Masons living at this Period, which has led at least one of the Writers on New England Affairs into crediting one with what belonged to another. This Capt. Mason, was never in New England. He died in 1635.

now a third Time revived again about *Kennibek* in the Year 1619, or thereabouts. By his Prudence and Care a lasting Peace was made betwixt the Natives of the Place, and the English, who were but a little before so abhorred by them, for the Wrong formerly received: so as the Plantation began at last to prosper, and continue in good liking, and assurance of the Friendship of their Neighbours, that had been lately so exasperated against them. This *Tisquantum* forementioned was not a little instrumental and helpful to the Plantation begun at *New-Plimouth* about the following Year, viz; 1620. In their weak Beginnings, there being frequent mention of his Name, as also of one *Samoset*, a Native of the same Place, by the like Providence brought back to *Kennibek*, and from thence with *Tisquantum* came to the New-planters at *Patuxet* or *Plimouth*, and brought them into acquaintance with *Massasoit*, the great Sachim about those Parts; without whose Friendship that New Plantation would hardly have subsisted long.<sup>97</sup>

This Story premised is the more to be minded in this Place, because the Friendship upon the Means and Occasions aforesaid, confirmed betwixt the *Indians* in these Eastern Parts, and the English, had continued stedfast and constant to this Year, when it was broken by another treacherous and wicked Practice of a like Nature, and

<sup>97</sup> See Vol. I, *Pages* 44-49.

Parallel to that of the forefaid *Hunt* : As may more fully be declared afterwards.

Poffibly the like Satisfaction may prove the more probable Means to procure a fettled Peace. But to return, whence this Degreffion hath been made. Some Years were fpend to bring Things to this Ifſue. The Adventurers were put to much Care and Pains before they could get their Patent confirmed, and renewed again; many Obſtructions they met withal from ſome Interlopers that began to look into the Trade of this Country, and would irregularly have had a Share therein, or made it common to all Traders, to which End they petitioned to a Parliament then called, to bring about their Ends; but at the laſt it was fettled firmly in the Hands of ſundry noble and worthy Patentees, Lords, [8] Knights, Gentlemen, and Merchants, commonly known by the Name of the Council of *Plimouth*, who had the abſolute Power under the King, for making all Grants, and diſpoſing of all Lands from the 40<sup>th</sup> to the 48<sup>th</sup> Degrees of North Latitude; All which was accompliſhed about the Year 1621. Some printed Relations that ſpeak of theſe Tranſactions, write much of the flouriſhing State, and hopeful Proſperity of this Plantation, publiſhed about forty or fifty Years ſince, yet did it never appear by what followed, that any conſiderable Advantage did ever accrue to the firſt Undertakers from this their new Plantation of the Eaſtern Parts, unleſs by the Trade of Fiſh, and Furs, which latter con-

tinued not long; As for the former, the chief Benefit redounded only to them that managed it by their own particular Stocks, and personal Endeavours: And if without Offence it may be spoken, the Multitude of Patents soon after granted to several Gentlemen of broken Fortunes have provided but Places of an honourable Exile or Confinement, whither many deserving Persons of better Education than Fortune, were put to shift for themselves in a Foreign Land, without being further troublesom to those nearer Home, on whom they had their Hopes and Dependance; yet it must not be denied but that some of the Undertakers were at vast Expences, casting their Bread upon these Waters, where none of their Friends and Relations have as yet had Opportunity to find it.

The Reason of which is not hard to give, in Reference to all those Lands and Territories that lye to the Eastward of *Pascataqua River*. One main Cause hath been the Multiplicity of Grants and Patents for the dividing of the said Tract of Land: for besides the Strife that hath been occasioned by the Intricacy and Indistinctness of their Liberties and Bounds (enough to have maintained a greater Number of Lawers, than ever were the Inhabitants), if the Grantees had been supplied with Monies proportionable to their Suits and Controversies about their Bounds and Jurisdictions, which sometimes they have been ready to decide with their Swords, witness those fatal



Names imposed on such Accounts upon some Places belonging to those Parts as *Bloody-Point*, *Black* and *Blew Point*,<sup>98</sup> and every considerable Parcel of Land being by Patent granted to several particular Persons, hindered the erecting of Townships and Villages, which if it had been otherwise disposed of, might have been full of Towns, and well peopled, and thereby the Inhabitants had been able to have stood upon their Guard, and defended themselves against the common Enemy; whereas now they were but like *scope dissolute*, for like his Arrows, that being bound up in one Bundle, could not be broken by an ordinary Force; but being loose, were easily snapt [9] *asunder*, by any single Hand. Another Reason might be, the imploying of such *Agents* and *Instruments* as either wanted *Skill* or *Fidelity* to manage what they were *trusted with*, which made many of the *Adventurers* long ago complain, that (instead of *Bills of Exchange* and other Returns which they expected) they received nothing but large *Inventories* of the Wants of their several Plantations, and the Servants sent over to

<sup>98</sup> A Gentleman of Maine, many Years ago, informed the Editor, that *Black Point* was so named from the Appearance given to it by hemlock Timber; that being the principal Growth upon it. This in the Winter Time gave it its black Appearance; and that the Point to the West of it, being covered with Wood of the hard kind, as Oak, &c., it wore a

blueish Appearance in the Winter. These Definitions are doubtless correct. They are both in the Town of Scarborough. As to the Promontory called *Bloody Point*, it is quite likely it may have received its Name from some of the many personal Encounters thereabouts. Its Locality I have not found. It may have been Black Point.

improve them, which were all the Returns that many of them ever received for the large Sums of Money many disbursed for the carrying on their Affairs.

A third Reason may be the several Changes of Government the Inhabitants have passed under, which have occasioned not only much Vexation and Expences to such as were upon the Place; but much Discouragement to several others, who by the Commodiousness of the Seat, would willingly have chosen Station in those Parts, had they seen any Hope of a settled Government ever like to have been obtained; which is not hard to demonstrate, by giving a little Touch as we pass along, on the several Changes of Government, the Places forementioned have been moulded into, and the several Proprietors that of late have claimed Interest in the Land. In the Year 1624, a Patent was granted by the Council of *Plimouth* the grand Proprietors, to Capt. *Mason* for a large Tract of Land about *Pascataqua*; but it not being distinctly bounded, himself with Sir *Ferd. Gorges*, obtained a joynt Patent in the Year 1639, for the Land betwixt *Saga de Hock* East, and *Naum Keag* West; but that also interfering with the Bounds granted before that Time to sundry Gentlemen and Merchants that had obtained a Patent from the South of *Charles* River to the Northward of *Merrimack*; Capt. *Mason's* Bounds were afterwards by Consent (as is said) of his Agent or Agents, reduced to some Branches about

*Pascataqua* River (who yet could not agree with those that acted in the Name of *Shrewsbury-Men*) but being wholly neglected by the pretended Proprietor or his Successors (till of late Days) was by the Desire of the Inhabitants yeilded up to the *Massachusetts* Government, near twenty Years since.<sup>99</sup>

In the Year 1630, a Patent was granted by the said Council of *Plimouth*, (signed by the Earl of *Warwick*, and Sir *Ferdinand Gorges*, and sealed with the common Seal of the Council aforesaid) to *John Dye*, *Thomas Loupe*, *Grace Harding*, and *John Roach* of *London*, for a large Tract of Land on the South of *Saga de Hock* forty Miles square by the Sea-side, and so up into the Country: *John Dye* aforesaid, and his Partners took in another as Partner and Associate with them, Mr. *Richard Dummer*<sup>100</sup> of *Newbury* in *New-England*, in the Year 1638, to whom they delivered the original Patent, with an Order from them and in their Name, to take up the Land described in the *Patent*; but he being denied Oppor- [10] tunity to effect it, as also a Ship formerly sent by the Patentees for that End, not accomplishing their

<sup>99</sup> For some further Elucidation of the Statements in the previous and following Paragraphs upon the Geography of the Coast of Maine, the Antiquary is referred to Belknap, *History of New Hampshire*, Folsom, *History of Saco and Biddeford*, and Willis, *Hist. Portland*.

<sup>100</sup> The Grandfather of Jeremiah

Dummer, the well-known Author of the *Defence of the New-England Charters*. Jeremiah was the younger Brother of Gov. William Dummer, and brother of Anna, who married John Powell, Esq., of Boston. From this Marriage are descended the present Wm. P., and Jonathan Mason of Boston.

Desire, they not long after sold all their Interest in the said Patent, to one Mr. *Rigby*<sup>101</sup> a *Lancashire* Gentleman, who made Mr. *Cleaves*<sup>102</sup> his Agent to manage the Business of his purchased Interest in the said Patent: to whom Mr. *Dummer* was ordered to deliver the original Patent, which accordingly he did: What Trouble was occasioned soon after between the said Mr. *Cleaves*, and Mr. *Vines*<sup>103</sup> Agent for Sir *Ferdinand Gorges*, is well known to the Inhabitants of the Place, and need not be here mentioned; nor yet how the said Mr. *Rigby* came afterward to lose his Interest (at least with the Inhabitants) in the Patent.

<sup>101</sup> Col. Alexander Rigby. He was a Sergeant-at-Law, and one of the Barons of the Exchequer. *Willis*, 81. He was a Son of Edward Rigby. During Gov. Leverett's Agency at the Court of England he referred to a Petition of Mr. Geo. Rigby respecting Lands in Maine. See Hutchinson, *Collection of Papers*, 274, 320.

<sup>102</sup> An extended and interesting Account of Mr. George Cleves may be found in Williamson's *History of Maine*, i, 668-9. See also Sullivan, *History of Maine*, 312, &c. Those bearing the Name at the present Day are probably his Descendants.

<sup>103</sup> Mr. Richard Vines. There are considerable Materials for a Biography of this Gentleman. He occupies a conspicuous Place in the early Affairs of New England. Why his Name does not appear in our Biographical Dictionaries, their

Authors ought to be able satisfactorily to explain. He appears to have been an Episcopalian. It would be interesting to know his Relationship, if any existed, to the famous old Puritan of the same Name and his Cotemporary. There is an elaborate Biography of the Latter in Brooks's *Lives of the Puritans*, but nothing about his Family. Our Richard was one of the first Englishmen who ventured almost alone to winter amongst the Indians in Maine, sleeping with them in their smoky Cabins, and ministering to their Wants in Sickness. He came over as early as 1609, in the Employ of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. He finally left the Country after a Residence of about 22 Years, and settled in Barbadoes. See Hutchinson, *Collection of Papers*, 112, 122-3, where Letters from him may be seen.



In the Year 1632, Sir *Ferdinand Gorges* not resting in the joynt Patent obtained for himself and Capt. *Mason*, obtained a distinct Patent for himself, and got it confirmed by King *Charles* the first of blessed and famous Memory, for all that large Tract of Land from *Saga de Hock* to *Pascataqua* River, and so about an hundred Miles up into the Country, by the Name of the province of Maine.<sup>104</sup> What Benefit and Improvement was ever made thereof by his Agents or Successors is best known to themselves: But for the Inhabitants, who upon one Account or another had been induced, either by any *precedaneous* Grant or Liberty from himself, or his Agents, to take up any Land within the Bounds of the said Province; they finding much Inconvenience and Trouble for Want of an orderly and settled Government, did at the last petition the General Court of the *Massachusetts* to be taken under their Jurisdiction and Government (reserving the Liberties and Priviledges of their former Purchases and Grants, as to *Title, Possession and Propriety*, to themselves) which was granted them, though not only and altogether upon the Grounds on which it was desired by the Petitioners. Yet notwithstanding all this, were not Things settled either to the Comfort or Content of the Inhabitants: for sometimes some demanded Right or Jurisdiction over them by Virtue of Sir *Ferdinando's* Patent,

<sup>104</sup> See Hutchinson, *Collection of Original Papers*, 423.

sometimes Commissioners imployed by his *Highness the Duke of York*,<sup>105</sup> attempted to settle a Government amongst the People; sometimes they tried what might be done by Agreement amongst themselves: but after their Return for *England*, by one Means or other, the Government relapsed again into the Hands of the *Massachusetts*, although a *Supersedeas* thereunto seems to have put by an Order from his Majesty this last Year.<sup>106</sup>

By these several *Vicissitudes* and Changes of Government, the flourishing of the said Province hath been much obstructed, which else might have been much advanced, and the Inhabitants been put into a Capacity [11] to have secured themselves against the late barbarous Incurfions of the *Indians*, and possibly those Exorbitancies that many of the present Proprietors have run into, to the just Provocation of the *Indians*, might thereby have been prevented, and so the Mischief also which hath ensued, might thereby have been averted: for a well ordered Government would never have suffered those things that now were connived at, which if they had been timely lookt into by such as had absolute or positive

<sup>105</sup> James Stuart, second Son of King Charles I, declared Duke of York at his Birth, but not so created until 27 Jan., 1643; ascended the Throne as King James II, 6 Feb., 1685, when this Dukedom became merged in the Crown. Sir N. H.

Nicholas, *Synopsis*, ii, 708.

<sup>106</sup> A good deal of partial Light is thrown on the Transactions of this Period by a *Narrative of the Commissioners from England, about New England*, in Hutchinson's *Collection of Papers*. See page 422.

and unquestioned Power of Rule in their Hands, would have been otherwise ordered, the present Mischief that is come upon those Places, might thereby have been, if not prevented, yet more easily redressed, than now is like to be.

As for the Tract of Land that lies Eastward beyond *Kennibeck*, betwixt that and *Pemmaquid*, it is said to have belonged to one Mr. *Aldworth*<sup>107</sup> and his Successors, who was Alderman of *Bristol*, and one that had a Patent thereof, and imployed some as his Agents, that did sometimes reside upon the Place; and was lately settled in some Order of Government by his *Highbness* the *Duke of York's* Commissioners, by whom also was an Agreement made betwixt the *Sagamores* of the *Indians* in those Parts, and the *English*, at a Court kept by their Appointment in *Kennibeck*, which if it had been observed, might in all Probability have prevented in a great Measure the Quarrel which is now fallen out betwixt the *English* and the said *Indians*: For upon some Jealousies of the rising of those *Indians* about twelve or thirteen Years since, it was agreed, That if any Mischief

<sup>107</sup> March 11th, 1582, Sir Francis Walsingham wrote to Mr. Robert Aldworth, then Mayor and Merchant of Bristol, commending his good Inclination to the Western Discovery, and recommending to add the two Ships or Barks he was then fitting out, to the Fleet of Sir Humphry Gilbert; to which the

said Mr. Aldworth replied, that the Western Voyage intended for the Discovery of the Coast of America, to the South west of Cape Breton, was well liked there, and that the Merchants of Bristol subscribed one thousand Marks immediately to it, &c. See Barrett's *History of Bristol*, 176.

should happen to be done by the *English* or *Indians* one against another, though it were to the killing any Person, neither Side should right themselves, but Complaint should be made to the *Sagamores*, if the *Indians* did the Wrong, and to the *Court* if it were done by the *English*. Both which did promise Satisfaction should be made for the preventing any Quarrel; the Names of the *Sachims*, as likewise of them that were in Power at the Court, do still remain upon publick Record. But Matters of Government in those Parts being since *collapsed*, no Authority more than what was meerly Voluntary and Perswasive being owned, Things are brought to that miserable State, which follows next to be declared.

Ever since the first settling of any *English* Plantation in those Parts about *Kennibeck* for the Space of above fifty Years, the *Indians* always carried it Fair, and held good Correspondence with the *English*, until the News came of *Philip's* Rebellion, and rising against the Inhabitants of *Plimouth* Colony in the End of *June* 1675. After which Time, it was apprehended by such as had the Examination of the *Indians* about *Kennibeck*, that there was a general Surmise amongst them, that they should [12] be required to assist the said *Philip*, although they would not own that they were at all engaged in the Quarrel. The like Jealousie did appear in all the *Indians* that inhabited to the Eastward of *Pascataqua*, which plainly shews that there was a Design of a general rising of the *Indians* against the *English*, all



over the Country,<sup>108</sup> (possibly as far as *Virginia*,<sup>109</sup> the *Indians* there making Infurrection the same Year) and that many if not most of them were willing it should succeed, although the elder and wiser of them liked it not, fearing the Issue, as they had Cause: But many of the Young Men about *Casco Bay*, and *Amonoscoggan* were certainly known to flock thither the last Year, and did, Sundry of them, come short Home.<sup>110</sup> For herein they acted but like Salvages, as those in *Virginia* did fifty Years before, shewing themselves friendly and courteous to their new Neighbours, till they had an Opportunity to do them Mischief.<sup>111</sup> So that notwithstanding many of the Inhabitants in the Eastern as well as in the Western Parts of the Country, that were wont

<sup>108</sup> Although this was the prevalent Opinion of that Time, it does not appear to have been true. In all of the Tribes and Clans of Indians, the Propensity of the young Men for War is and always has been manifest, and that many of these were glad of an Opportunity to indulge that Propensity is clear; but that there was any systematic Conspiracy between the Indians in the East and King Philip does not appear to be borne out by the Facts. For it is very certain that but an inconsiderable Part, even of the Indians in Western Massachusetts were expecting a War, at the Time this War began. Our Author has himself observed, that, when the

War first broke out, many of the Inland Indians were amazed, and for some Time wavered, not knowing what to do.

<sup>109</sup> This has reference to what is called Bacon's Rebellion, and a War between the Virginians and the Susquehannah Indians. See Holmes's *Annals*, i, 385.

<sup>110</sup> That is, they were killed, or did not come Home at all.

<sup>111</sup> The Blow was as terrible on Virginia as this War was upon New England. It was of short Duration, beginning on the 22d of March, 1622, under the Direction of a noted Chief named *Opekanough*. See *Book of the Indians*. Book iv, Chap. ii, Page 361.

to trade with the *Indians*, were not willing to believe any such Purpose amongst them, but were ready to think some of the ruder sort of the *Engliſh*, by their imprudent and irregular Actings, had driven them into this Rebellion;<sup>112</sup> yet it is too evident, that the ſaid *Indians* (who naturally delight in bloody and deceitful Actions) did lay hold of any Opportunity that might ſerve for a

<sup>112</sup> The Author has, in nearly all ſuch Caſes, avoided Specifications. The Enormities of the Engliſh could not always be kept out of Sight, and yet the Hiſtorians of the Time have barely given us but an apologetical glimpe of them in a few Caſes. Original Depoſitions in the Editor's Poſſeſſion relate to what is ſo vaguely ſtated in the Text: On the 13th of Nov., 1676, Thomas Miller, aged about 42, depoſed before Commiſſioner Elias Stileman, at Strawberry Bank, that being at Feall [Fayal, one of the Azores] he met with a Veſſel which had come in ſome ſeven or eight Days before, which, on Inquiry he learned was from "Boſting," having ſailed thence about "Crefmas," or before. Saw Indians on board, but how many he could not tell, but being on Shore next Day, and in Diſcourſe with "Mr. Fiſher about the Ketch and the Indians, he told me he had proffered the Merchant thirty ſeven or thirty eight Pipes of Cong Wines for his Indians. He ſaid to me there were ſeventeen. He further learned they

were gotten at the Eaſtward, and that the Veſſel (Ketch) belonged to Mr. 'Lines.'"

At the ſame Time "John Sherburn, aged about 26, and William Rackliſſe, aged about 46," teſtified, "That ſometime the laſt Aprill, being in Fyall, they ſaw a ſmall Ketch there which came from New England, and had ſeverall Indians aboard. One of us ſaw about five or ſix, the other about half a ſcore, and ſome of the Company ſaid they brought ſaid Indians from New England, and got them to the Eaſtward. They ſaid the Ketch was Mr. Lines's and belonged to Boſton; but we remember not the Name of either of Ketch or Maſter or Merchant. The Indians were landed the Day before we came away. Wee aſkt the Company what particular Place they had them from at the Eaſtward, but they would not tell us." Sherburne was Mate, and Rackliſſe Boatſwain of the Ship "Employment." They were before the Commiſſioner "in Company with Capt. Daniel and Mr. William Vaughan."

Pretence to be put upon their barbarous Practices. The *Indians* about *Wammeset* and *Pascataqua*, that had joyned with their Country-men in their rising against the *English* the last Winter, when they were pinched with Hunger in the cold Winter following, returned back to the *English*, and desired to make Peace, and firmly engaged to continue their wonted Friendship; yea some of them as if they were really sorry for their Murthers and Cruelty, of their own voluntary Motion, came with the Prisoners they had taken, and resigned them up to the *English*; yet when their own Ends were answered, and another Opportunity was offered of doing further Mischief of like Nature, they presently returned to their former Practice, as is well known of *Simond* and *Andrew*, that had killed some, and led others Captive in the last Spring from *Bradford* and *Haverhill*, who came in the End of *June* to *Maj. Walderns*, bringing Home *English* Prisoners with them,<sup>113</sup> yet did the very same *Indians* within less than two Months after join with the *Amonoscoggan* and *Kennibeck* *Indians*, in committing the sad Tragedies that were last acted in those Parts; yet was he and the other his Partner suffered to escape for Want of sufficient guarding the Prison, where they were put in Order to further Trial. But *Sero sapiunt Phryges*. It is hoped that we shall after a few more Experiences of this

<sup>113</sup> This will be more particularly noticed a few Pages hence.

Nature [13] learn to beware of this subtle Brood, and Generation of Vipers. Ever since *Enmity was put between the Seed of the Woman, and the Seed of the Serpent*, it hath been the Portion of her Seed in every Generation, and in every Nation, to meet with the sad effects of that Enmity; nor can they ever expect to find better dealing from any of the other Sort, further than either Fear of their Power, or Hope of Benefit by their Favour, may induce them to another Disposition, as we the Inhabitants of *New-England* have found by this late and sad Experience in Reference to these Pagans in the West amongst whom our Lot is cast; they proving, as one says of the *Mahometans* in the East, like a Nest of *Hornets*, that if any one of them chance to be provoked, they will be all about his Ears that comes near them. But it is now Time to begin with the Particulars of the Tragedy it self, that the Reader account not the Prologue too long.

It was *June 24, 1675*, when the first Mischief was done by the *Indians* about *Mount-hope*: before twenty Days were over, the Fire began to kindle in these the most Remote and most Northerly Bounds of the said Country, or two hundred and fifty Miles distant, and upon this Occasion: *July 11, 1675*, a Letter was brought to *Kennibeck* from one *Henry Sawyer* an Inhabitant of *York*, signifying the News of the *Indians* rising about *Plymouth*, and that a Course was taken to disarm the



*Indians* along the Shore. This Rumor did so far awaken the Inhabitants of those Parts, that the very next Day at a general Meeting of the *English* at one Capt. *Pattishals*<sup>114</sup> House, several offered themselves as Volunteers to go up the said River of *Kinnibeck*, to make Discovery of the *Indians* Fidelity, or else to fight them if Occasion were.<sup>115</sup> The third Day after, marching up the River to *Quegefeck*,<sup>116</sup> they met with the Inhabitants of *Ships Cot River*, which is a River lying about twelve or fourteen Miles to the North-east of *Kennibeck*. Divers of the *Indians* thereabouts, by the Perswasions of one Mr. *Walker*,<sup>117</sup> that used to trade with them, brought down an inconsiderable Part of their Ammunition, as a few Guns, a little Powder and Shot, with a few Knives. About seven of the *Kennibeck* Indians, and five of those called *Androsfogging* Indians, about *Pegypscot*,<sup>118</sup> (a River more Southward toward *Casco*)

<sup>114</sup> Farmer presumed this was *Richard Patteshall*, of Boston, 1665, and Freeman 1673; but according to Savage it was probably *Robert Pattishall*, "a Captain and Magistrate in the temporary County of Devonshire, Me., and was killed by the Indians at Pemaquid in 1689. See also, Mather, *Magnalia*, Book vii, Page 65.

<sup>115</sup> This Proceeding was certainly enough to affirm to the Indians that the English had commenced a War upon them.

<sup>116</sup> Possibly the same called by

Sullivan *Whiskeag*, and by Residents *Whisgig*.

<sup>117</sup> Perhaps *Samuel Walker*, who subsequently married the Widow of Andrew Augur. Her Husband (Augur) was killed at Scarborough. See Page [25, forward. See also Folsom, *History of Saco, &c.*, 175.

<sup>118</sup> Since written *Pejepscot*. It is generally understood to be the Tract where Brunswick now is; but the Indians seem to have applied it to that Part of the adjacent Androsfoggin, from what is since Brunswick Falls to Merrymeeting Bay.

made this Shew of bringing in their Arms. Capt. *Lake*, Capt. *Pattishal*, with Mr. *Wifwal*, in whose Hands was settled a Kind of military Power for those Parts, were sent for to examine the said *Indians* further, of whom upon Examination they saw Reason to suspect some, if not all; whereupon they sent Messengers the second Time to the *Ammoscoggin* Indians, and also a Letter to Mr. *Walker* to send down their Arms and Ammunition to them for their greater Security.<sup>119</sup> After Mr. *Wifwall* was returned Home, the five *Ammoscogging* Indians aforesaid brought in their Guns, but with no good Intent [14] probably; for an Indian called *Sowen*, having an Axe in his Hand, struck at one *Hosea Mallet* a *French-man*, but was prevented from doing him Mischief; however the said *Indian* was presently bound and put into a Cellar. Some of the *English* that used to trade with those *Indians*, were ready to execute the *Indian*, saying he was drunk, or that he was a distracted Fellow; but Mr. *Wifwall* with the other two Examinants lookt upon those as meer Excuses, and altogether Groundless; for one of them to this Day affirms, that he was as Rational and Sensible as any of the Rest.

The ancient *Indians* being asked what they thought was meet to be done in the said Case?

<sup>119</sup> It will scarcely be doubted now that this Management was not alone sufficient to cause the Indians to begin a War. It was in vain for them to plead that they must have the Means to procure Game or starve, as they did on many Occasions.

faid, he was worthy to die for fuch an Affront, yet they would be glad if his Life might be fpared, offering to be jointly bound in his Behalf, to pay forty Beaver-fkins at the next Fall Voyage, giving their Hands in Token of their Fidelity, and alfo leaving their Arms in the Hands of the *English* as a Pledg of their faithful keeping thofe Articles of Peace concluded on betwixt them. If they proved themfelves honeft Men, they were to have their Arms delivered them again, which was accordingly performed the laft *June*, 1676. They having in the mean Time carried themfelves peaceably toward the *English*. The Day after, viz. *July* 19, 1675, an Indian of great Note amongft them, called *Robin Hood*,<sup>120</sup> with great Applaufe of the Reft, made a Dance, and fung a Song to declare their Intent in what was tranfacted. And fo they parted, fetting the *Indians* at Liberty, that had engaged thus for their Friend *Sowen* the *Indian*; but yet to this Day one Skin of Beaver was never paid to the *English* as was promifed. The *Indians* all this Time were well provided for of Viſtuals by Capt. *Lake*, with other Supplies of Rhum and Tobacco, even to the diſguſting of fome *English* then preſent.

But the *Indians* left as Hoſtages upon *Sowen's* Account, how civilly ſoever they were treated, ran all away at the Laſt, truſting more to the

<sup>120</sup> His Indian Name was, at one Time, *Wobawa*, and perhaps *Ramegin* at another. He was a noted Chief for many Years. I learn no more of him than is contained in the *Book of the Indians*, 284.

Celerity of their own Feet than to the Civility of their *English* Friends; who after they were escaped, joined with a Parcel of their Fellows soon after, about twenty in all, in robbing the House of one Mr. *Purchase*,<sup>121</sup> an ancient Planter about *Pegypscot* River, and a known Trader with the *Indians*. Whatever Wrong may be pretended by the said *Indians*, as done them in their trading (of which more may be spoken afterwards)<sup>122</sup> that will no Whit excuse their perfidious Treachery and Falsehood in breaking Covenant with the *English*, dissembeling, and seeking all Advantages of Cruelty against their *English* Neighbours, of which in the following Winter and Summer, 1676, there will be a more full and undeniable Discovery. This was done in the Beginning of *September*, 1675.<sup>123</sup> Those *Indians* that first assaulted Mr. *Purchase* his House, did no other Mischief, [15] save plundering it of strong Liquor, and Ammunition, also killing a Calf or two, with a few Sheep, but no more than what they eat, and spoiling a Feather-bed, by ripping it open to turn out the Feathers, contenting

<sup>121</sup> Mr. *Thomas Purchase*. He and George Way had a Grant of Land between the Kennebeck and Androscoggin Rivers and Casco Bay, but its Date is not known, the Original having been long since lost. Willis, *History of Portland*, 64. See also *ante*, Table, Page 5; and I. Mather, *Brief History*, 89.

<sup>122</sup> Not much, however, is found. But the Nature of the Complaints of the *Indians* are easily conjectured. An "Amonoscoggin Indian once complained that he had given an hundred Pounds for Water drawn out of Mr. *Purchase* his Well." See Page [77 of this Volume.

<sup>123</sup> Sept. 4th., 1675.



themselves with the Case, which they might more easily carry away. They offered no Incivility to the Mistress of the House, (her Husband and her Sons being at that Time from Home) yet one of her Sons approaching near the House, and finding it possessed of those new Inhabitants, he rode away with all speed, and yet no faster than there was Need; for an Indian followed him with a Gun under his Coat, to have Shot at him, if he could by his Flattery and Dissembling have got him within the Reach of his Peice.

It is said, that at the first they used fair Words, and spake of Trading; but as they went away, told those of the House, that there were others coming after, that would deal far worse with them, which within a short Time after came to pass, for these were but the Messengers of Death, which was soon after inflicted, and that in a most barbarous Manner upon sundry Inhabitants of the neighbouring Plantations.

The English in those Parts being much incensed hereat, twenty five of them soon after going up *Casco-Bay* in a Sloop and two Boats to gather *Indian* Corn, and to look to what they had upon the said Bay near *Amonoscoggen* River: When they came near the Houses, they heard a Knocking and a Noise about the Houses, and presently espied two or three *Indians*, who did not yet see them: The *English* being come a good Way from their Vessel, endeavoured to get between the *Indians* and the Woods, which when they perceived,

they ran toward the Water-side, but the English in Pursuit killed one of them, and wounded another, who yet escaped away in a Canoo cross the River; a third running back toward the Woods, fled to the other *Indians*, and acquainted them with what was done, who presently came down, and lay in wait to intercept the *English*, that thought of no Danger, but scattered themselves all about the Place to gather their Corn, and lade the Boats therewith; but before they were ready to go away, the *Indians* coming down fired upon them, and forced them all into the Sloop; had not some of them been better prepared than the rest, they might all have been cut off, for some little Resistance being made by them that were ready with their Guns, it gave the Rest an Opportunity to get all into the Sloop, yet not without many Wounds: So with much ado, they all escaped with their Lives, leaving the two Boats almost laden with Corn for a Prey to the *Indians*, who presently burned one, and plundered the other of all that was therein. Some are ready to think that [16] the English did imprudently to begin the Quarrel, and not first enquire into what the *Indians* were about in the House, and seek Redress according to the forementioned Agreement made at the Court in *Kennibeck*. But if this hapned after what follows next to be related,<sup>124</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Sept. 9th, 1675. It is hardly to be supposed that the Author did not know which Affair happened first. That he is chargeable with the

Employment here of a Figure of Speech which Logicians term Subterfuge, is rather probable, and for Reasons elsewhere explained.

*viz*, that which was done to old *Wakely*,<sup>125</sup> and his Family (the *English* can be blamed for nothing but their Negligence and Security, in that having alarmed their Enemies, they stood not better upon their Guard) which is not very certain. For 'tis thought that within a few Days after, or the next Week, more horrible Outrage was committed upon the Family of an Ancient Man, whose Name was *Wakely*, an Inhabitant of *Casco-Bay*, who had some Years before removed from *Gloucester*, or *Cape Anne*, out of some discontent, which afterwards he often bewailed, resolving either to have returned back, or else to have removed to some securer Place; but he was arrested by the Sons of Violence, before he could effect his Purpose. This old Man with his Wife, his Son, and his Daughter in Law (at that Time great with Child) with three grand Children, were cruelly murdered by those barbarous Salvages at one Time: another of his grand Children was taken alive, and led into Captivity. A Daughter of his was said to be carried to *Narhaganset*, which shews they joined with the Southern *Indians* in the Rebellion. When once these *Indians* had imbrued their Hands in *English* Blood, they were emboldened to the like bloody Attempts in the adjacent Places.

This *Wakely* lived so far from Neighbours, or

<sup>125</sup> He must have been an old Gentleman in 1675, as he was made a Freeman of Massachusetts in 1636, and was at Hingham in 1635. We find him in Casco Bay (Falmouth) as early as 1661. See Babson's *History of Gloucester*, 174. Hutchin-  
son, *Col. Orig. Papers*, 398.

or else was encompassed with Creeks or Rivers, that no Relief could presently be sent to him: however Lieut. *Ingerson*<sup>126</sup> of *Casco* the next Day with a File of Men, repaired to the Place where his House stood, to see what was the Reason of the Fire they discerned the Day before. There they found the House burned to Ashes, the Bodies of the old Man and his Wife half consumed with the Fire, the young Woman killed, and three of the grand Children having their Brains dashed out, and their Bodies were laid under some oaken Planks, not far from the House; one Girl of about eleven Years old, was carried Captive by them, and having been carried up and down the Country some hundreds of Miles, as far as *Narbaganset* Fort, was this last *June* returned back to Major *Walderns*, by one *Squando* the *Sagamore* of *Saco*:<sup>127</sup> A strange Mixture of Mercy and Cruelty.

Soon after Capt. *Bonitbon's*<sup>128</sup> and Major *Philip's*

<sup>126</sup> *George Ingersoll*. He lived at a Place called *Capisc*, and was the first who discovered the Murders at Mr. Wakely's. See Willis, *History of Portland*, 197.

<sup>127</sup> The "Girle" liberated by *Squando* was Elizabeth Wakely, as appears by a Deposition taken at *Saco* in 1723. Robert Evans testified that "the now *Elizabeth Scamman* was brought in by the Indians to *Cochecho*," and that her Name was *Elizabeth Wakely*, who "some time in a War that was called *Philips War*, was taken at *Casco Bay*, her Grand-Father and Father were killed." She was then (1723) about

60 Years of Age, which pretty nearly agrees with the Author's Statement of her Age when taken captive. See Folsom's *Saco, &c.*, 157, and Willis, *History of Portland* (first Edition), i, 137.

<sup>128</sup> *John Bonitbon*, Son of Richard. Sullivan gives the Name *Benytbon*, and appears to have confounded John with his Father who "could never be cordial to *Massachusetts* which had invaded and taken the Province of *Maine* from *Gorges*. The Parties were warm and abusive in those Times, which caused an ill-natured Inscription on the Grave of the Patentee; which Grave remains



Dwelling were assaulted; one on the East, the other on the West-side of *Saco* River. It is said, they had seasonable Notice of what was intended against them by their barbarous Enemies. Those *Amonescoggon* Indians, viz. by an Indian of *Saco*, their Neighbour, better minded than the Rest of his [17] Country-men, who observing a strange *Indian* coming to his Wigwam in Company with some of his Acquaintance, one of whom informed him, after the Rest (with the Stranger) were gone, that the said Stranger came from the Westward, and that his Business was to persuade the Eastern *Indians* to fall upon the English in their Dwellings here, as the Rest had done to the Westward. Captain *Bonithon*, either upon this Information, or upon the Knowledge of what was done a little before at *Casco*, had left his House, and was retired over the River with his Family to Major *Phillips* his Garrison.<sup>129</sup> Thus

on the East Side of *Saco* River, at a Place called Rendezvous Point, in these Words:

“ Here lies Benighton the Sagamore of *Saco*,

“ He lived a Rogue, and died a Knave,  
and went to Hockomoco.”

That this Inscription was to John and not to his Father Richard, it would be easy to show. The latter died in 1648, respected for his uprightness, and so far as known, without Enemies; while the Son had many Enemies, which his haughty and turbulent Character had caused, and he died in 1684.

<sup>129</sup> *William Phillips*, who removed from Boston to *Saco* in 1660. His Wife was the Widow of John Sanford of Rhode Island, and Mother of Peleg Sanford, Governor of that Colony from 1680 to 1682. He was a Man of extensive Business, and became one of the largest Landholders in the Country. The Connexion between the Family of Major Phillips and the Hutchinsons of Boston, was the Occasion, probably of some of the latter Family being possessed of Lands at *Saco*, noticed by the Author a few Pages further on. See Page [24 and Note.

two are better than one: for otherwise, both might have been destroyed. For upon the eighteenth of *September* following, being the seventh Day of the Week, about eleven a Clock, they at Major *Philips* his Garison saw Capt. *Bonithon's* House on Fire on the East-side of *Saco* River, which by the good Providence of God was to them as the firing of a Beacon, giving them Notice to look to themselves, their Enemies being now come; for otherwise, they might to their great Disadvantage have been too suddenly surprized; for within half an Hour after, they were upon them, when a Sentinel placed in the Chamber gave Notice that he saw an *Indian* by the Fence-side, near a Corn-field. Major *Philips* not willing to believe till he might see with his own Eyes, ran hastily up; another of his Men, coming after, cryed *Master, What mean you, do you intend to be killed?* at which Words he turned suddenly back from the Window, out of which he was looking, when presently a Bullet struck him on the Shoulder, grazing only upon it, without breaking the Bone. The *Indians* upon the Shot, thinking he had been slain thereby (as they heard afterwards) gave a great Shout, upon which they discerned that they were surrounded by them; whereupon they presently fired upon the Enemy from all Quarters, and from the Flankers of the Fortification, so as they wounded the Captain of the *Indians*, who presently leaving the Assault, retired three or four Miles from the Place.

where he soon after died, as they were informed. He counselled them to leave the Siege, but they were resolved not so to quit the Place, nor were those within, less resolute to defend it. One of the best Men was soon after disabled from any further Service by a Wound which he received in one of the Volleys made upon them by the Assailants. But that no whit daunted the Rest of the Defendants, who continued still firing amain upon the Enemy: This Dispute lasted about an Hour, after which the Enemy despairing to take the House by Assault, thought upon a Device how to burn it.

First, firing the House of one of his Tenants, then his Saw-mill, after that his Corn-mill, hoping by that Means to draw them out of the Gar[18]ison to put out the Fire; but missing of their Purpose in that they called out, *You English cowardly Dogs, come out and quench the Fire*: They continued this Sport all the Afternoon, continually almost without any Intermission firing upon them: The Besieged hoped for Relief from the Town, but none came. The Major still encouraging his Men to stand it out, which they manfully did all that Night, when they were alarm'd almost every half Hour; and betwixt whiles they could hear their Axes and other Instruments, knocking about the Mills till the next Day: They within the House conceived they were preparing some Engin wherewith to burn the House, which proved accordingly; for about four or five

a Clock in the Morning, at the setting of the Moon, the Major was called by one of his Men to look out, when he saw a Cart with four Wheels, having a Barricado built in the Forepart to keep off Shot, and filled with combustible Matter, Birch-rinds, Straw, Powder, and Poles twenty Foot long, apt to Fire the House. He bid them let them drive it within Pistol-shot, before they made any Shot against them: His Men were a little discouraged at the Sight of this Engine; but he bid them be of good Courage, and use the Means, putting their Trust in God, who he was confident would deliver them. The Cart, when brought a little nearer, became unwieldy by Reason of the Barricado planted in it, and being to pass through a small Gutter, one Wheel stuck fast in the Slough, which brought the Cart suddenly to the Left, whereby the Drivers lay all open to their right Flanker, when presently they fired upon them out of the said Flanker; and having so fair a Shot upon them, and not being above Pistol-shot from the Place, they killed six of the Enemy, and wounded fifteen,<sup>130</sup> as they found afterwards, which no doubt made them too late to repent of their Resolution, not to follow their Captains Counsel and Example

<sup>130</sup> This was quite an ingenious Device for a movable Fortification, or *Terraqueous Fire-ship*. The same Artifice had before been resorted to at Brookfield, it will be remembered, and was only prevented taking effect

by a sudden Shower of Rain which put out the Fire. Viewed as a remarkable Providence at the Time. See *Book of the Indians*, B. iii, c. ii, 214. I. Mather, *Brief Hist.*, 67-70. Hoyt, *Antiquarian Researches*, 101.



in leaving the Siege, for now they presently departed. So as at Sun-rise, they within the House espyed forty of them marching away, but how many more were in the Company they could not tell.

The *Indians* it seemed went towards *Blue-point*, where it is said they killed several Persons: but those in the House feared they went for more Help, and expected their Return; but it seems their Courage failed them as to another Attempt upon an House so well garisoned, and manfully defended. Major *Philips* sent to the Town for Help, acquainting them with what had passed, but none was sent them, either that Day, or the next: so as having spent almost all their Ammunition, the People that were with him, would not be perswaded to tarry longer than the *Thursdav* Morning, which constrained him and his Family to remove to the Town; about a Fortnight after, the *Indians* hearing thereof, came and burnt down [19] the empty House. There were fifty Persons in the said House during the Time of the Siege, and but ten able Hands: they had five more that could do something, but through Age or Minority not able to make any notable Resistance; yet it pleased God, in whose Hands are all Mens Lives and Limbs, and who is never wont to fail them who in Time of Danger are so ready to confide in his Power and Goodness, as not to neglect the use of due Means for their own Preservation: so to order Things that not one Person of all those

fifty, was either killed, or mortally wounded. Major *Philips* himself was wounded, but not dangerously, at the Beginning of the Assault: his Mills with other Edifices were the first Day burned by the Enemy, and so were all the Houses at *Saco*, or most of them soon after, that were above the Fisher-mans Stages. One Mrs. *Hitcock* being carried Captive by the Enemy from the same Place, died in the Winter following, by eating some poysonous Root instead of a Ground-nut, as was reported by the *Indians* afterwards.

Much about the same Time, five Persons going up the River of *Saco*, were all killed by the same *Indians*.<sup>131</sup>

These Tragedies being thus acted at *Casco* Bay, and *Saco*, those barbarous Enemies dispersed themselves in Parties, intending to do all the Mischief they could to all the English inhabiting about that Side of the Country. In the same Month of *September*, they came down towards *Pascataqua*, doing the like Spoil upon the Inhabitants of the several Branches of that River, which they had been doing elsewhere: In the first Place, they burned the two *Cheflies*<sup>132</sup> Houses about

<sup>131</sup> The Name of this Captive was doubtless *Hitchcock*. Richard Hitchcock was at *Saco* in 1636, who died in 1671. In his Will mention is made of Wife *Lucretia*, and Children, *Thomas*, *Jerusha*, *Lydia*, *Ann*, and *Margaret*. *Farmer*. *Savage*.

was killed at *Dover* by the *Indians*, 15th Nov. 1667, and refers to *Belknap*, i, 72, as his Authority; but *Belknap* does not name *Thomas Chesley*, nor has he any thing about the *Cheflies* except what he has copied from this Text of *Hubbard*, and the Date is given correctly, 1675.

<sup>132</sup> *Savage* says *Thomas Chesley*

*Oyster River*, and killed two Men that were passing along the River in a Canoo; and carried away an old Irish-man, with a young Man taken from about *Exeter*, who yet both of them soon after made an Escape to a Garison at *Salmon Falls* in *Kittary*, by the help of an *Indian* better minded than the Rest: the first after seven Weeks the other after a Months Captivity.

Much about that Time, one Goodman *Robinson*<sup>133</sup> of *Exeter* with his Son, were travelling toward *Hampton*, where, as they [were] passing a-long, they were way-laid by three *Indians*, viz. *John Sampson*, *Cromwel*, and *John Linde*, who shot down the old Man, whom they left dead upon the Place; his Son, hearing the Guns escaped their Hands by running into a Swamp whither the *Indians* pursued him, but could not overtake him, so as he got safe into *Hampton* about Midnight, where he declared what befell him by the Way, and how narrowly he avoided the Danger, intimating likewise, that he feared his Father was killed, which was found too true, by Lieut. *Swett*<sup>134</sup>

<sup>133</sup> There was a John Robinson among the first Settlers of Haverhill, Mass., 1640. In 1657 he bought a House lot in Exeter and soon after removed there. He was a Blacksmith, and was probably the Goodman Robinson mentioned in the Text. See Chase, *History of Haverhill*, 38, 45, 68.

<sup>134</sup> Benjamin Swett, afterwards a Captain. He was in Command of a Garrison at Wells in the Spring

of 1677, and on the 29th of April of that Year was drawn into an Ambush and slain, with several of his Men. See Hubbard's *History of New England*, 632. He was Son of John Swett of Newbury, according to Topham's *MS. History of Hampton*, and married Hesther, Daughter of Nathaniel Weare of Hampton. Thomas Sweete came to Newbury in 1634. See *Founders of New England*, 70.

who the next Day with a Dozen Soldiers of the Town went to search those Woods, where they found the poor old Man, shot [20] through at his Back, the Bullet having pierced through his Body, and was stopped by the Skin on the other Side: Another of *Exeter*, called *Foulkam*,<sup>135</sup> was at the same Time driving a Pair of Oxen in the same Road: where, soon after he heard the Report of the Guns when *Robinson* was killed, he espied the three *Indians* creeping upon their Bellies towards him, to do as much for him as they had done for *Robinson*; but leaving his Oxen, he put on his Horse with all Speed, and so was delivered from the Danger that the other fell into; it is reported that one of the *Indians* made a Shot at him, but he was either gotten out of their reach, or else they missed their Aim at that Time. The same *Indians* had a little before met with another English-man in those Woods, one *Charles Randlet*; <sup>136</sup>whom they carried Captive, although he soon after escaped out of their Hands by the Help of another *Indian* called *James*. It is said,

<sup>135</sup> Probably *John Foulkam*, who went to Exeter, N. H., from Hingham, Mass., about 1659. He emigrated from Hingham, England, 1638, married Mary, Daughter of Edward Gilman. *Farmer. Savage.*

<sup>136</sup> Those who desire to see what is contained in *Savage's Dictionary* upon the Family of *Ranlet* must look under the Head *Rundlet*! The Name in Country Parlace is thus pronounced, sometimes, but I have never

seen it so printed elsewhere. *Charles Randlet* was the Ancestor of a highly respectable Family, one of whom was a Printer and Bookseller many Years in Exeter. *Henry Ranlet* was Printer to the General Court of New Hampshire, and in 1792 printed the Laws of the United States for that State. One of our most accomplished and able Sea Commanders of this Day, bears the Name of the Indian Captive.



there were four *Indians* of that Company, and that the fourth was sent away with *Randlet*, so that there were but three seen together at the killing and pursuing the other forementioned. One of the said *Indians* viz. *John Sampson*, was killed by some of Capt. *Hathorns* Soldiers at *Casco Bay*, in *September* following 1676, when the Scouts of our Forces came upon the *Indians* on the sudden, and had a small Brush with them, but all the Rest made shift to get away: As for the other two, viz. *Cromwell*, and *John Linde*; <sup>137</sup> one of them, it is said, is since killed, or taken and sold away, the other is at *Kennibeck*, whom Vengeance may also in due Time overtake, as it hath done the other.

Within a few Days after the barbarous Fact at *Oyster-River*, two *Indians*, viz. one named *Andrew*, <sup>138</sup> and the other *Hope-Hood*, the Son of him called *Robin-Hood*, assaulted the House of one *Tozer* <sup>139</sup> at *Newechewannick*, wherein were fifteen Persons, yet all Women and Children, who with-

<sup>137</sup> There is a mournful Letter of an Indian of this name in Gen. Gookin's History, written during his Wanderings through the Wilderness toward Canada. He was a principal Praying Indian among the Wamefits, and when that little Community of Friendly Indians was broken up by the ruthless Violence of some neighboring white Ruffians, he with a few others escaped being massacred by Flight.

<sup>138</sup> He is believed to have be-

longed to Saco. His Career of Blood is traced as far as the Year 1677. See *Book of the Indians*, 275.

<sup>139</sup> Richard Tozer, killed soon after, as will be seen in these Pages. His Residence was about a Mile from Salmon Falls, N. H., in what is since known as the Old Garrison House, a Portion of which exists to this Day. He married Judith Smith, at Boston, in 1656. Hon. John Wentworth in *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, xvii, 212; Vol. xviii, 50.

out all doubt had all of them fallen into the merciless Hands of the two cruel and barbarous *Caitiffs*, had not a young Maid of about eighteen Years of Age first espyed them: who being endued with more Courage than ordinarily the rest of her Sex use to be (the Blessing of *Jael* light upon her) first shut the Door, whereby they were denied Entrance, till the Rest within escaped to the next House, that was better fortified; That young *Virago*<sup>140</sup> kept the Door fast against them so long till the *Indians* had chop'd it in Peices with their Hatchets: when entring the House, they knocked the poor Maid down with their Hatchets, and gave her many other Wounds, leaving her for dead upon the Place; after which they passed on toward the next Dwelling; in their Way meeting with two Children, that had escaped the House first broken open by them, they killed one of them, of three Years old, which could not follow fast [21] enough, or else they that carried it, could not convey it over a Fence soon enough to save themselves and it; and carried away the other of seven Year old, which yet was returned safe within half a Year after: The poor Maid that had ventured her own Life so far, to save many others, was by a strange Providence enabled

<sup>140</sup> An Appellation not exactly suited to our Ideas of a Woman exerting her utmost Energies, and exposing her own Life to apparently certain Destruction to save the Lives of others. But in Mr. Hubbard's Time the Definition of *Virago* was simply "a Woman of manly Courage;" whereas the Term is now almost exclusively applied to quite a different Class of Females. Compare *Kersey* and *Webster*.

to recover so much Strength after they were gone, as to repair to the next Garison, where she was soon after healed of her Wounds, and restored to perfect Health again.

The next Day toward Night more of the barbarous Enemies being gathered together, they made another Assault upon the neighbouring Dwellings.

The English, as many as could be spared out of the Garison, (not above eight in Number) pursued after them about half a Mile, but Night coming on, it was judged best to retreat, lest otherwise they might have been intercepted in their return Home, by any of them lying in Ambush, which is their usual Way of doing Mischief. After divers Shot made on both sides, but five of the Enemies appeared; who yet took the Advantage of Captain *Wincals*<sup>141</sup> Absence, (whose Dwelling was not far off) to burn his House and Barn, with another House, and two Barns more, where was much English Corn; above an hundred Bushels was supposed to be in one of them. After they had done this Mischief, they fled away.

The next Day after, the same *Indians*, or others of their Fellows, came upon the other Side of the

<sup>141</sup> *John Wincall.* He was Son of Thomas of Watertown; a Man, it seems of much Activity in those fearful Times. Very little has been learned about his Family. See Bond's *Hist. of Watertown*. There are Notices of the Death of a Capt.

John Wincall in the *Boston News Letter and Weekly Journal*, 1734, but whether a Connection of the before mentioned Capt. W., I have no Information. The latter died in 1694. Williamson writes the Name *Wincoln*.

River, from whence they shot over several Times, to some that were grinding in the Mill, but after the exchanging of many Shot on both Sides of the River, betwixt them, six of the Enemy shewed themselves in the Twilight, uttering several insolent and barbarous Speeches, calling our Men English Dogs, &c. Yet all this, while out of reach of their Shot, and then they ran all away like Dogs after they had done barking.

After this, those very *Indians*, as was supposed, burned five or six Houses about *Oyster River*, and killed two Men, viz. one *William Roberts*<sup>142</sup> and his Son in Law. The Inhabitants of *Dover*, with some other resolute young Men, being much provoked by these many Insolencies and Injuries done by the Enemies, obtained Liberty from the Major of the Regiment, to try whether they could not meet with some of the *Indians*, by secret Ambushes, and sculking amongst the Bushes and Trees, as the *Indians* used to do with them, to which End about twenty divided themselves into several small Parties: Soon after as they were looking after the Enemy, a Party of ours espied five of the *Indians*, some gathering [22] Corn in the Field, while the Rest of them were busied in heating of an Oven to bake some of the Fruit which they gathered also in the same Field.

The English were at such a Distance that they

<sup>142</sup>Nothing further has been discovered respecting this Sufferer or his Connections. In one of the later Indian Wars, one *Alexander Roberts*

was a Captive among the Indians in Canada, and belonged to a neighboring Locality. See *New Hampshire Historical Collections*, iii, 74.



could not make any Sign to their Fellows, without being discovered by the *Indians* in the Field; wherefore two of them crept as near as they could to the House, at one End of the Field, where they suddenly rushed upon two of the Wretches, and knocked them down with the butt End of their Muskets, which was done silently; but the other three in the Field took the Alarm, and fled away, who else might as easily have been surprized as the other two.

These Outrages thus daily committed, filled all the Plantations about *Pascataqua* with Fear and Confusion; scarce any Place, where there was not either Reason for some to complain of the Loss of their Friends, or burning of their Houses, which caused most of them that lived scatteringly, at any Distance from their Neighbours, either to Garison their Houses, or else desert their own Dwellings, and to repair to their next Neighbours that were better fortified than themselves; but all the Inhabitants in those Parts in general, were alarmed to stand upon their Guard.<sup>143</sup>

<sup>143</sup>In the midst of these Distresses, Application from the Inhabitants beyond Portsmouth was made to the Commissioners of the United Colonies at Boston for Assistance, as appears by the following Memorandum:

“Boston, Octob. 1st, 1675. The Commissioners understanding that the Inhabitants of Pascataque, and so Eastward, are under great Distress, by Reason of the Rage of the Com-

mon Enemy, Doe commend it to the honourable Governor and Councill of the Mattachusets, that some present Reliefe may be sent vnto them according to the present Exigent; the Charges whereof shall be allowed in the general Account of the Colonies.

THOMAS DANFORTH, *Presidt.*

*In the name, and by the order of the Commissioners.”*

*Original Paper.*

On the seventh of *October* following, being a Day of publick Humiliation, a Man was shot down, as he was riding between two Garifon Houses about *Newechewannick*, and dyed of his Wounds within two Hours after; about the same Instant of Time two young Men were shot dead about a Mile from that Place; These two had their Arms or Guns with them, which were carried away by them that killed them, together with their upper Garments: It is not said that these three last, (though killed upon a Day of Humiliation) were surprized in their repairing to, or returning from the Place of publick Worship, which would in a great Measure have abated the Sorrow of their sad Funerals, if when they were suddenly arrested by the Harbingers of Death, they had been found so doing.

Soon after this, they assaulted another House at *Oyster River*, the which, although it was Garifoned, yet meeting with a good old Man, whose Name was *Beard*,<sup>144</sup> without the Garifon, they killed him upon the Place, and in a barbarous Manner cut off his Head, and set it upon a Pole in Derision. Not far off about the same Time they burned another House and Barn.

Upon the sixteenth of *October*, being *Saturday*, about an hundred of the *Indians* were gathered together, to assault *Newechewannick*; they began

<sup>144</sup> There was a *William Beard* same killed as mentioned in the at Dover, 1640, according to Farmer. Text. Others of the Name, killed at a later Period, are met with,

with one named *Tozer*,<sup>145</sup> half a Mile from the Upper Garifon, at *Salmon Falls*. The said *Tozer* was presently killed, his Son taken [23] Captive (but returned after some Months Restraint) several Guns being shot at this Assault, alarmed Lieut. *Plaisted* at the next Garrifon, who like a Man of publick Spirit immediately sent out seven Men from the Garifon under his Command, to see what the Matter was; but being met by an Ambush laid in the Way as they went, lost two or three of their Company, the Rest hardly escaping back to the Place whence they came, whereupon the said Lieut. *Plaisted* immediately dispatched away a Messenger to Major *Waldern* at *Quebeco*, which because it seems to be the last Time that ever that good and useful Man set Pen to Paper, shall here be inserted.

*Salmon Falls, October 16, 1675.*

*Mr. Richard Waldern and Lieut. Coffin, These are to inform you, that just now the Indians are engaging us with at least one hundred Men, and have slain four of our Men already, Richard Tozer, James Barney,<sup>146</sup> Isaack Bottes,<sup>147</sup> and Tozer's Son, and burnt Benoni Hodsdens House;<sup>148</sup> Sir, if ever you*

<sup>145</sup> According to Sullivan his name was John; but according to the Letter immediately following in the Text it was Richard.

<sup>146</sup> Mr. Farmer does not seem to have noticed this Person, though he found a Jacob Barney, at Salem, and Mr. Savage could not add much, at least he did not, to Farmer.

<sup>147</sup> As no other mention of these two Persons, Barney and Tozer, is found, it is probable they were single Men, and perhaps had not been long in the Country.

<sup>148</sup> This Name is usually since spelt *Hodgdon*. There are many of the Name at the present Day in New Hampshire and adjacent States.

have any Love for us, and the Country, now shew yourself with Men to help us, or else we are all in great Danger to be slain, unless our God wonderfully appear for our Deliverance. They that cannot fight, let them pray; Nought else, but I rest,

Yours to serve you,  
Signed by *Roger Plaisted,*  
*George Broughton.*<sup>149</sup>

What Answer was returned to this importunate and pathetical Letter, is not fully known at present; most probably he that was most concerned in the Contents of it, was either absent from Home, or in no Capacity to send the Relief desired; which if it could have been had, might have prevented the said Mischief that fell out the next Day; when Lieut. *Plaisted* being more earnestly bent to perform that last Office of Love to his deceased Friends, whom he could not by all his Endeavours save from the Danger of Death, while they were in the Land of the Living, would

<sup>149</sup> As early as 1654, "Mr. Broughton's Man" is found in a List of Troopers who had been in Service 16 Days, under Major Simon Willard. This refers to Mr. Thomas Broughton probably. But the Petitioner below, is no doubt the Widow of George Broughton the Signer of the above Letter: "Petition of Paren Broughton, Widow of George Broughton, deceased," setting forth that she "hath been drouen [driven] out of House and Home by the Indians, with the Loft

of her Estate, and meeting with another great Loft, the Death of her Husband, and after that the Loft of her Son, which was the only Support she had," and that she is "brought very low," and her "Condition is very meane." She therefore desires to be allowed "to retall Wine, Ale and Sider." The Date of the Petition is July 6th, 1696. Whether the General Court took any Action in the Matter is not known. See *Mass. (MS.) Archives.*



needs venture himself with twenty Soldiers out of his Garrison, to fetch off the dead Bodies.

To that End he ordered a Pair of Oxen to be yoken to bring them to his Garrison, in order to their Christian buryal, not considering that the *Indians* lay sculking thereabouts, waiting for such Opportunities. They went first to the furthest Place, where they found *Ro. Tozers* Body, and put it into their Cart; but coming back to take up the other two Bo[24]dies, which were fallen in a little Swamp nearer to the Garrison, they were set upon by an hundred and fifty of the Enemy, that had hid themselves in the Bushes, and under a Stone-wall, and Loggs in the Way, as they were to pass; by the sudden Noise of the Guns, the Cattel being frightened, ran away to the Garrison with such of the Dead as were first laid up thereon, (and possibly with one of them wounded at that Instant) leaving their Owners to fight it out with their Enemies. Lieut. *Plaisted* being thus desperately assaulted, he with his twenty Men, was forced to retreat to a Place of better Advantage; but being there so hotly pursued, they were not able to abide it long; although they killed and mortally wounded several of the *Indians*, as themselves have since confessed; but they most of them being so much overmatched, took the Opportunity of a fair Retreat, and so got safe to their Garrison, while Lieut. *Plaisted* out of the height of his Courage, disdaining either to fly from or yield himself (for 'tis said the *Indians*

were loth to kill him, but desirous rather to take him Prisoner) into the Hands of such cursed Caitiffs, did fight it out desperately, till he was slain upon the Place, his eldest Son and another Man were slain in their too late Retreat; and his other Son was forely wounded, so that he dyed within a few Weeks after.<sup>150</sup>

The *Indians* were contented with this Mischief for the present (and indeed if all the English they had to deal with, had shewed the like Resolution with this *Plaisted*, they would not have done half the Mischief that since hath been done by them) and slunk away into the Woods before the next Day, when Captain *Frost*<sup>151</sup> came up from *Sturgeon Creek*, (a few Miles below the River) with a Party of his Friends, and buried the Dead: During these Onsets, the Enemy also took their Advantage to burn three Houses, and two Barns before they left the Place.

The latter End of the same Month they burned

<sup>150</sup> There is a Tombstone near the Road in Berwick, on the Land which was Plaisted's, near where this Battle was fought, upon which there is the following Inscription:

“ HERE LIES INTERRED, THE BODY OF  
SAMUEL PLAISTED, ESQ.,  
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE, MARCH  
20TH, 1731, Æ. 36.

NEAR THIS PLACE LIES BURIED THE  
BODY OF ROGER PLAISTED, WHO  
WAS KILLED BY THE INDIANS, OCT.  
16TH, 1675, Æ. 48 YEARS;  
ALSO THE BODY OF HIS SON, MR.

ROGER PLAISTED, WHO WAS  
KILLED AT THE SAME TIME.”

*Sullivan*, 250.

<sup>151</sup> *Charles*, afterwards Major Frost. He lived at Sturgeon Creek in Kittery; was often in active Service against the Indians, and had excited their Envy and Hatred, and hence they longed for an Opportunity to destroy him. This they at length succeeded in doing, by ambushing him and shooting him from his Horse as he was going to Meeting, July 4th, 1697.

a Mill near the same Place belonging to Mr. *Hutchinson*<sup>152</sup> a Merchant of *Boston*; from whence they came down lower toward *Sturgeon Creek*, where they burned one House, and killed two Men, not far from Captain *Frost's* Dwelling; he escaping himself very narrowly, being shot at by the Enemy, about ten in Number, who might easily have burned his House, and taken all that were in it, being but three Boys besides himself, had he not used this Policy; to call out to some to march this and the other Way, to look after the *Indians*, as if he had had many at hand to Command, which under God was the Means of his Escape; for his House was neither fortified, nor well manned, yet was far from Neighbours.

The next Day the said *Indians* passed down the River on *Kittary* Side, killed one Man, whose House they first plundered, and then set it [25] on Fire. All this was done just over against *Portsmouth*, from whence out of a small Battery was discharged a Peice of Ordnance, which by a good Providence was directed so to fling its Shot, as it fell very near a Party of the *Indians* for they were so affrighted therewith (if none of them were killed) that they left a good Part of their Plunder near the Place. They were pursued by some of the English before they could recover their Home, and by the Help of the Snow that

<sup>152</sup> This Mr. Hutchinson, I suppose, was Edward Hutchinson, who acted as Agent for "Mr. Richard Hutchinson," his Uncle, a Merchant

of London. In this Light the Accounts in Folsom's *Saco and Biddeford*, and Williamson's *Maine* become intelligible.

fell about that Time, were traced till they were overtaken: but being near a Swamp, themselves escaped, for Haste leaving two of their Packs behind them.

Soon after they went up the River again to *Quechecho*, where they burned an House, and two or three Barns. Another Party of them got over beyond the other Branches of *Pascataqua River*, toward *Exeter*, and *Lampray Eyl River*, where they killed one Man: Sundry of them were seen in the Woods about *Exeter*; and between *Hanpton* and *Exeter*, where they killed one or two Men in the Woods as they were travelling Homewards, occasioned the People of those Towns to stand continually upon their Guard, which proved a great Annoyance to the Inhabitants.

But to look a Little back to the Plantations more Eastward from *Pascataqua River*, where these Outrages of the *Indians* first began.

At *Casco Bay*, Lieut. *Ingersons* Son, with another Man, going out afowling about this Time, were both killed before they returned Home, his Fathers Houses being burned, with many others also thereabouts.

At *Black-point*, Lieut. *Auger*<sup>153</sup> with two more

<sup>153</sup> This Name is differently written in the same Works, as *Aulger*, *Alger* and *Augur*. The two killed at this Time were Arthur and Andrew Augur. They were settled in Scarborough, where, about 1651, they purchased 1,000 Acres of Land of the Indians. They named their Purchase Dunston, that being the Name of the Place in Norfolk, England, whence they emigrated. See *Collections, Maine Historical Society*, iii, 27. There are no Male Descendants of the Name. *Willis*.



were assaulted by the *Indians*, where after many Shot exchanged betwixt them, himself was so wounded that he died soon after, and his Brother was also killed in a few Days afterwards, not far from the same Place.

When the Rising of the *Indians* first began in those Eastern Parts, (with us called the County of *York-shire*,<sup>154</sup> Captain *Wincol* of *Newchewan-nick*, with some others, having a Sympathy for the Sufferings of the Neighbours, marched up that Way with a small Party of Men: In his first Skirmish with the Enemy, he chanced to lose two or three of his Company; the Rest being not above eleven in all, as they were marching along by the Sea-side, were assaulted by a great Number of the *Indians*, judged to be an hundred and fifty: he being hard beset with so great a Number, retreated to an Heap of Bolts that lay near the Water-side, by the Shelter of which they lay safe from the *Indians* Guns, and so well plyed their few Guns, that they slew many of their Enemies, and put them all to a Kind of Rout at the last: After which by the Help of an old *Canoo*, they recovered safe to the other [26] Side of the Bank. But nine *Saco* Men had worse Success, who yet came with a very good Inten-

<sup>154</sup> It was called Devonshire also by some of its Inhabitants, as appears by a Petition drawn up the following Year. The Preamble to which thus commences: "The

humble Petition of the distressed Inhabitants of the Countie of Devon: suffering by the treacherous and bloodthirsty Heathen," &c. *Original Petition, MS.*

tion to help their Friends, upon the hearing of their Guns; but as they came to rescue Captain *Wincol* with his small Party, they themselves fell into an Ambush of the *Indians*, and so were all cut off, with two other Men also, near the Place where the first Skirmish was; for the *Indians* from the Shore Side could discern any that were coming towards them, when they were a great Way off, and so might easily way-lay them, before they could come up to them. Near upon seven Houses were burned about this Time, and some persons killed at *Black-point*.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>155</sup> An additional Note is given to these Events in "The Table," *ante*, No. 40, by the Author. But from all he has given us we have but a faint Shadow of the Perils and Trials which then actually existed in that Country. As Capt. Joshua Scottow of Boston had an Establishment at Black Point, and was there at the Time of the Attack with a Company of Soldiers, it is Singular that he is not noticed by Mr. Hubbard. The following Extracts from certain original Papers in my Possession will show that Capt. Scottow was severely censured for his Conduct for refusing to assist the People when attacked by the *Indians*, and that he brought in a Bill against them for his and his Men's Services afterwards. "Miles Edgcomb" deposed that he was aged about 25 Years; that he was at Black Point when "nine of Winter Harbour Men were fighting

with the *Indians* upon the Sands opposite said Place, and saw sundrie Men come to Mr. Scottow importuning and professing themselves that he would send over some Ayde to those poore distressed Men, whose they were afraid would be overcome by the *Indians* except they had speedie Reliefe, being within foe small Compass that they plainlie did see that the Number of the Heathen was far exceeding the English: notwithstanding all this Mr. Scottow would not suffer a Man to goe to help them. Then came John Lux and asked him if he was not ashamed to stand still with so manie armed Men and suffer nine Winterharbour Men to be murdered by the cursed Heathen! Come, saies Lux, putt mee some Men into my Shallopp and I will forthwith, by the Helpe of God pull them on Shoare in Little Rivver: being then neare high Water, and

Two Persons likewise were killed at *Wells*,<sup>156</sup> in the Beginning of the Winter, one of them was a Servant of Mr. *William Simons* (one of the principal Men in the Town aforefaid): the Gentleman himfelf with his Family, were removed to a Garifon-houfe in the Middle of the Town,

thereby, I doubt not but wee fhall faive fome of their Lives. All which, boathe talking and haveing in his View that fad Sight, would not moove Mr. Scottow to releife thofe poore Englifh, whoe for Want of Helpe weare found flaine neare to the aforefaid River, wheare Lux would have landed Ayde if hee could have gott anie from faid Scottow." Sworn before Brian Pendleton, July 20th, 1676.

John Jackson, aged 40 Years, or thereabouts, testified that when the Indians were burning Dunfton he heard Mr. Foxwell urge Capt. Wincoll to go out with his Company to fight the Indians; that Wincoll declined, having no Commiffion from Capt. Scottow to do fo; that Mr. Foxwell's Garrifon was fhort of Powder, and that he (Jackson) went to Capt. Scottow to get fome belonging to the Company; that the Captain replied that if the Bofton Soldiers wanted Powder, they could have it, but if the Inhabitants wanted it they muft buy it. The Price was half a Crown the Pound.

This was alfo sworn to before Mr. Pendleton, as was another by Giles Barge, but too long to be here

inferted. Walter Gendall likewife testified to the Inhumanity of Capt. Scottow. His Depofition was taken by "Henry Jocelyn, the laft of July, 1676."

Scottow drew up a long Defence of his Conduct, in the Form of a Petition to the General Court. A Report was made upon it by a Committee, confifting of *Nathaniel Saltonftall, James Russell, Thomas Brattle, Samuell Appleton* and *John Wayt*, from which Report the Captain does not appear to have had the Sympathy of the Court. The Committee remark that they did not think it Expedient to grant him a Hearing, as the Parties concerned, "by late Tranfactions are put under another Government, viz., in the Province of Main." Both the Magiftrates and Deputies approved the Action of the Committee.

<sup>153</sup> The Author feems to have omitted to notice the Condition of the People at Saco in the early Part of the War. Copies of two original Letters will be found in Mather's *Brief History*, Edition 1862; one written at Saco, Sept. 18th, 1675, the other at Wells, on the following Day. Thefe throw much Light on that fearful Period.

his Servant going early in the Morning to look after some Business there, tarried longer than was needful to provide something for himself, the *Indians* invited themselves to breakfast with him, making the poor Fellow pay the Shot, when they had done, with the Loss of his Life.

A Week after, one *Crofs*<sup>157</sup> was slain at *Wells* likewise, who was a Kind of distracted Fellow. Also one *Isaac Cousins*,<sup>158</sup> was there killed in the Beginning of Winter, after there had been some Overtures of Peace betwixt Major *Waldern* and the *Indians*.

With such Kind of mutual Encounters was the latter Part of the Year spent bewixt the *Indians* and the English from *Pascataqua River* to *Kennebeck*, from the Beginning of *August* to the End of *November*, wherein many were slain on both Sides, in one Place, and in another ; of the English in those Parts were slain upwards of fifty. The Enemy lost, as appeared afterward by their own Confession above ninety, partly in the fore-said Skirmishes, and partly in their joyning with the *Indians* to the Westward, whither it is said, many of them were invited to repair, to help to

<sup>157</sup> From Mr. Savage's *Crofs* Article (*New England Geneal. Dictionary*) this Man is presumed to have been *John Crofs* "who died at Wells about 1676," leaving a Widow Frances, and Sons, John and Joseph. But as my Author says nothing about his *John Crofs*

being "a distracted Fellow," he did not probably meet with this Passage of Hubbard.

<sup>158</sup> Perhaps the same whom Mr. Savage loses Track of after following him from Rowley to New London and back to Rowley again. See *Genealogical Dictionary*.



destroy the English, in Hope to enjoy their Possessions afterwards. But God had otherwise determined, who did arise at last to save the meek Ones of the Earth, and plead the Cause of his People.

The Governour and Council of the *Massachusetts*, had at this Time their Hands full with the like Attempts of Philip and his Complices to the Westward; yet were not Unmindful of the deplorable Condition of these Eastern Plantations; having committed the Care thereof to the Majors of the respective Regiments of the several Counties on that Side of the Country, but more especially to the Care and Prudence of the honoured Major D. *Denison*,<sup>159</sup> the Major General of the whole Colony; a [27] Gentleman, who by his great Insight in, and long Experience of all martial Affairs, was every Way accomplished for the Managing that whole Affair. He had, to ease the other Side of the Country, drawn out a sufficient Number of Soldiers from the next Countries, to have reduced all the *Indians* Eastward to their Obedience; but just as they were intended to march up to the Head-quarters of the *Indians*, to fall upon them there, *viz.* to *Ossapy*, and *Pigwauchet*, about an hundred Miles up into the Country Northward, the Winter, setting in

<sup>159</sup> The Author's Friend and Neighbour at Ipswich, and Brother of the distinguished Major George Denison of New London, whose

brilliant Services in the present War are duly noticed in this Work. His Autograph in Fac-simile is given on Page 4 of the first Volume.

so sharp and severe in the Beginning of *December*, and latter End of *November*, it was not possible to have marched a Days Journey into the Woods, without hazarding all their Lives that should venture up : The Snow being found generally in those Woods four foot thick on the tenth of *December*, so as it was not possible for any to have travelled that Way, unless they carried Rackets under their Feet, wherewith to walk upon the Top of the Snow. This alone Consideration, forced them to lay aside their Designs for the Present, but soon after it was done to their Hands ; for the Depth of the Snow, and Sharpness of the Cold were so Extream, that the *Indians* in those Parts were so pinched therewith, that being hunger-starved, they began to sue for Peace ; making their Address, first to Major *Waldern* on that Account, by whose Mediation that whole Body of *Indians* Eastward were brought to an hopeful Conclusion of Peace, which was mutually agreed upon ; and possibly might have remained firm enough to this Day, had there not been too just an Occasion given for the Breaking of the Same by the wicked Practice of some lewd Persons, which opened the Door, and made Way for the bringing in all those sad Calamities and Mischiefs that have since fallen upon those Parts of the Country, as shall be hereafter declared.

In the latter End of *June* 1676, the *Indians* that had made a general Conspiracy against the

English were strangely dispersed, and dispirited, so as they from that Time began to seperate one from another, and every Nation of them to shift for themselves, as hath been already mentioned in the former Part of this *Narrative*. *Canonicus* the great Sachim of the *Narhagansets*, distrusting the Proffers of the English, was slain in the Woods by the *Mohawks*, his *Squaw* surrendring herself: by this Means her Life was spared.<sup>160</sup>

Many of those about *Lancaster*, and the Places adjoyning thereunto, did cunningly endeavour to hide themselves amongst those *Indians* about *Pascataqua*, that had newly made their Submission to the English, by Major *Walderns* Means, and concluded a Peace; yet could nei-[28]ther dissemble their Nature and Disposition past before from Suspition of Mischief, nor yet so artificially conceal their Persons, but they were easily discerned by such as in former Times had any Acquaintance with the Eastern *Indians* by Way of Trade, or other Converse: Whereupon the Forces newly raised in the *Massachusetts*, under the Command of Captain *William Hathorne*, and Capt. *Joseph Sill*, designed for the subduing of those *Indians* about the River of *Merrimack*, and *Pascataqua*, that still stood out in Hostility against the English, meeting with those under the Command of Major *Waldern* aforesaid, and Capt. *Frost* of *Kittary*, it was mutually agreed betwixt

<sup>160</sup> This is the only Mention I find of the Wife of Canonchet. What Disposition was made of her does not appear.

those several Commanders, to seize upon all those *Indians* that at that Time were met together about Major *Walderns* Dwelling at *Quechebo*. The Contrivement succeeded according to Expectation, and all the said *Indians* were handsomely surprized, *September 6th*, 1676, without the Loss of any Persons Life, either *Indian* or English, to the Number of near four hundred: by which Device, after our Forces had them all in their Hands, they seperated the Peaceable from the Perfidious, that had been our Enemies during the late Troubles: finding about two hundred involved in the former Rebellion, more or less, accordingly they sent down to the Governour and Council at *Boston*, who adjudged seven or eight of them immediately to die; such as were known to have had their Hand in the Blood of the English, or that had been shed by their Means: the Rest that were found only Accessories to the late Mischiefs, had their Lives spared, but were sent into other Parts of the World, to try the Difference between the Friendship of their Neighbours here, and their Service with other Masters elsewhere.<sup>161</sup>

<sup>161</sup> The Surprise of these *Indians* then assembled at *Cochecho*, has been viewed as an Act of bad Faith on the Part of their Captors. It has been called a Surprise, and no Doubt the *Indians* were really surprized, as they had come there under a Flag of Truce, or with the Understanding that they were to take

Part in a Treaty of Peace. But the Commanders of the English Forces probably argued, that as the Enemy had, on many Occasions hitherto, been Faithless, they were not bound to be Faithful on such an Occasion. But the *Indians* were Numerous, and many of them armed. The English therefore devised a Plan to



Those who had been always either Peaceable and True to the English never intermeddling in the Quarrel, as *Wannalancet* the *Sagamore* of *Pennicook*, and some others, were quietly dismissed to their own Places.

Besides these that were surprized at the Time aforesaid, there were several others, who had been the chief Actors, that were taken up and down in those Woods beyond *Merrimack*, and so were delivered up to Justice; as *John Monoco*, *Sagamore Sam*, Old *Jethro*, with some others, as hath been already mentioned; yet young *Jethro* brought in forty at one Time. It was a special Favour from God, so to order it, that the *Indians* aforesaid were so surprized; for had they continued in their former Rebellion, and had taken the Opportunity to have joyned with the Eastern *Indians*, as some of them did a few Months before, they would in all Likelihood have utterly destroyed all the Plantations of the English beyond *Pascataqua River*; as manifestly appears by the Mischiefs [29] which was lately done by the Means of a Few, that by too much Connivance

capture them. It can hardly be called a Stratagem. They got up a mock Training, and invited the Indians to take Part in it. This they assented to; and in the Sham fight which was to close the Exercises, were all made Prisoners. A parallel Case occurred within my Remembrance (which I recorded at the Time in the *Book of the In-*

*dians*) in Florida. General Jessup having invited Osceola and other Chiefs to meet him and make a Treaty, and they having appeared at the appointed Time and Place, under a Flag of Truce, he made them all Prisoners. Jessup's Conduct was condemned by all but interested Partizans. These Acts cannot be forgotten.

of some in those Parts, that entertained a better Opinion of them than it seems they deserved. For whereas Mention formerly was made<sup>162</sup> of a small Party of *Indians*, that on the third of May in this present Year, had murdered one *Thomas Kembal* of *Bradford*, and carried away his Wife and five Children Captive yet two or three of the Actors did, upon what Consideration is not known, return the Women and Children again within six Weeks: and because of their voluntary Returning of them, were dealt more favorably withal, being only put into Prison at *Dover* for a Time; yet possibly conceiving that a Prison was but a Preparation for a worse Evil, they took an Opportunity (two of the chief Actors in the fore-said Mischief, called the one *Simond*, the other *Andrew*) to convey themselves out of the Place of Restraint, and afterwards going amongst the *Amonoscoggin* and *Kennibeck Indians*, have joyned with them in those bloody and cruel Depredations lately made in those Parts, which follow in Order next to be related.<sup>163</sup>

Some little Colour or Pretence of Injury was alledged before those Eastern *Indians* began

<sup>162</sup>In the first Volume, Page 224, and References.

<sup>163</sup>To seize and imprison those who had not only brought in and restored Captives, but had surrendered themselves, was certainly a faithless Proceeding on the Part of the English Commanders, to put the best Construction it will bear

upon it. If they viewed it as a favorable Way of dealing with Indians, these People evidently did not see it in that Light. The great Massacre of the 11th of August following, led by one or more of those thus trepanned, is a sufficient Commentary on the bad Faith thus put in Practice.

their Outrage both in the former, as well as in the present Year. The chief Actor or rather the Beginner of all the aforesaid Mischiefs Eastward, is one *Squando*, the *Sagamore* of *Saco Indians*, whose *Squaw*, as is said was abused by a rude and indiscreet Act of some English Seamen in the last Summer, 1675, who either overfet the *Canoe* wherein the said *Squaw* with her Child were swimming in a River thereabouts, or else to try whether the Children of the *Indians* as they had heard, could swim as naturally as any other Creatures, wittingly cast her Child in the Water ; but the *Squaw* immediately diving into the Water after it, fetcht it up from the Bottom of the River : yet it so falling out that within a While after the said Child dyed (which it might have done if no such Affront had been offered) the said *Squando* Father of the Child hath been so provoked thereat that he hath ever since set himself to do all the Mischief he can to the English in those Parts, and was never as yet since that Time truly willing to be reconciled :<sup>164</sup> Although he is said to have sent Home some that were taken Captive the last Year. Surely if their Hearts had not been secretly filled with Malice and Revenge before, they might have obtained Satisfaction for the Wrong done at

<sup>164</sup> If such Insults and Barbarities were viewed by the Best of the English as "some little Colour or Pretence of Injury," and glossed over with such Arguments as are contained in the last Parenthesis in the

Text, the Impression of impartial Justice towards the Indians will be very faint in the Minds of intelligent Readers even in this semi-barbarous Age. But I have already remarked on similar Proceedings.

an easier Rate. More probable it is, that this was only an Occasion to vent the Mischief they formerly had conceived in their Hearts.

There is an Injury of an higher Nature, mentioned as the Ground of their Quarrel with us, who live about *Pemaquid*, and *Kennibeck*, which hapned the last Spring, viz. one *Laughton*,<sup>165</sup> with another Person [30] or more, who having obtained under the Hand of Major *Waldern*, a Warrant to seize any *Indians* Eastward, that had been Guilty of any Murder or Spoil done to the English in those Parts, did most perfidiously and wickedly entice some of the *Indians* about *Cape Sables* who never had been in the least Manner guilty of any Injury done to the English, aboard their Vessel, or else some other Way, and then carried them away to sell them for Slaves;<sup>166</sup> which the *Indians* in those Parts look upon as an Injury done to themselves, and have alledged it to the Inhabitants of *Pemmaquid*, as one of the principal Grounds of their present Quarrel: The Thing alledged is too true as to Matter of Fact, and the Persons that did it, were lately committed to Prison in Order to their further Tryal. Yet all those *Indians* do, or may know full well, that they who did them that Wrong, were lyable to due Punishment, (or else their Quarrel might be

<sup>165</sup> There was a Thomas Laughton at Boston in 1660, but whether he was the Kidnapper of the Indians I have not been able to ascertain.

<sup>166</sup> See *ante*, Note 113, which would, perhaps, have been more appropriate in this Place. It is not Material, however.



accounted Just, and they considered as *Indians*, must have the more Allowance) if they could be found; nor ever were any countenanced amongst us, that had done them any Kind of Injury, nor did those that take upon them the Revenging of the Injury, know that they were Inhabitants of this Country that did the Wrong; nor was there ever any orderly Complaint made thereof: but this cannot excuse their Perfidiousness and Cruelty. Some other Pretences were alledged by the said *Indians*, that yet do bear no Proportion to the Mention of a Wrong or Injury, viz. because our Traders were forbidden to sell any Ammunition to any *Indians* whatsoever, which those *Indians* say they cannot live without; yet seeing themselves, as well as the Westward *Indians* have so ill improved, that which they had before, there was little Reason why they should quarrel with us for selling no more.

Further also it is affirmed by some Persons worthy of Credit, that for divers Years past have lived in those Parts, that the *Indians* thereabouts need not have wanted Powder or Shot, only they wanted Something wherewith to cloak their malicious and barbarous Practises of late committed against us; but there being different Opinions about this Point we shall leave it at the present.

But these being premised in Reference to the pretended Ground or Occasion of the Quarrel: It remains that the Effects thereof be now related.

Before the War with *Philip* was well ended to the Southward, there was a fresh Alarm sounded again to the Eastward; for on the eleventh of *August*, 1676. The very Day before *Philip's* Heart (that had harboured so many mischievous and treacherous Devices against the English) was by one of his own Company shot through, did a Party of *Indians* begin their [31] Outrages at *Casco* in a most perfidious and treacherous Manner, killing and carrying away Captive to the Number of thirty Persons, and burning their Houses:<sup>167</sup> amongst whom was the Family of one

<sup>167</sup> The following well written Letter will give a better Picture of that sad Friday at *Casco*, than anything elsewhere published upon it:

“Honoured Mother,

“After my Duty and my Wife’s presented to yourself, these may inform you of our present Health, of our present Being when other of our Friends are by the barbarous Heathen cutoff from having a Being in this World. The Lord of late hath renewed his Witnesses against us, and hath dealt very bitterly with us, in that we are deprived of the Societie of our nearest Friends, by the breaking in of the Adversarie against us. On Friday last, in the Morning, your own Son, with your two Sons-in-law, Anthony and Thomas Bracket and their whole Families were killed and taken by the Indians, we know not how; tis certainly known by us that Thomas is slain and his Wife and Children carried away Captive.

And of Anthony and his Familie we have no Tidings, and therefore think that they might be captivated the Night before, because of the Remoteness of their Habitation from Neighborhood. Gm. [Goodman] Corban and all his Family; Gm. Lewis and his Wife, James Ros and all his Family, Gm. Durham, John Munjoy and Daniel Wakely, Benjamin Hadwell and all his Family are lost: All slain by Sun an Hour high in the Morning and after. Gm. Wallis his dwelling House and none besides his is burnt. There are of Men slain 11; of Women and Children, 23 killed and taken. We that are alive are forced upon Mr. Andrews his Island, to secure our own and the Lives of our Families. We have but little Provision, and are so Few in Number that we are not able to bury the Dead till more Strength come to us. The Desire of the People to yourself is, that you

*Anthony Bracket* Inhabitant of *Casco*, who was thought to have been killed ; but he himself with his Wife and one of his five Children carried away Captive with a *Negro*, did happily make an Escape from their bloody and deceitful Hands, in *November* next ensuing.

The Manner how *Anthony Bracket* and his Wife<sup>168</sup> made their Escape was very remarkable, and therefore judged worthy to be inserted here, although out of due Place. The *Indians* that led them Captive, having brought them to the North-side of *Casco Bay*, News was brought to the said

would be pleased to speak to Mr. Munjoy and Deacon Philips, that they would entreat the Governour, that forthwith Aid might be sent to us, either to fight the Enemie out of our Borders, that our English Corn may be inned in, whereby we may comfortably live, or remove us out of Danger ; that we may provide for ourselves elsewhere ; having no more at Present : but desiring your Prayers to God for his Preservation of us in these Times of Danger, I rest

“ Your dutiful Son

“ Thaddeus Clark.

“ From *Casco-bay*

“ 14, 6, 76.

“ Remember my Love to my Sister, &c.”

[Direction] “ These for his honored Mother, Mrs. Elizabeth Harvy living in Boston.”

It will be seen that the Number of the Killed and Captured men-

tioned in this Letter, is greater than is stated by our Author, namely, 34 By a Recurrence to Mr. Willis's *History of Portland*, 205, some Elucidation may be found to the Facts given by Clark. We see by this Letter that “ Benjamin Hadwell and all his Family are lost.” *Hadwell* is, no doubt, the *Atwell* of Mr. Hubbard. *Atwell*, *Hatwell* and *Hadwell* were easily confounded in those Days of unsettled Orthography. *Benjamin Hadwell* of our Letter is, doubtless, the *Benjamin Hatwell* of Hutchinson, *Original Papers*, 398.

<sup>168</sup> She was a Daughter (Ann) of Michael Mitton, who came to Maine as early as 1637. Her Mother was Elizabeth, only Daughter of Geo. Cleeves. Thaddeus Clark married *Elizabeth* a Sister of Mrs. Bracket who was Mother to the Writer of the foregoing Letter. See Willis, *History of Portland*, 50, 141.

*Indians* of the Surprizal of *Arrowfick* Houfe in *Kennibeck*, withal the Store therein, which did fo rejoyce them, that they made all hafte to fhare in the good Things there to be had. Thus eager to be gone they promifed *Bracket* and his Wife that they fhould have alfo a Share therein if they would make hafte after them, bringing along a Burthen allotted to each of them: The Woman having a little before obferved an old Birchen *Canoo* lying by the Water-fide, hoped it was an Opportunity Providence offered for their Escape; whereupon ſhe firſt prudently aſked of the *Indians* to let the *Negro* their own Servant (at the ſame Time carried Captive by them) help them to carry their Burthens, which was granted: then ſhe begged of them a Peice or two of Meat, which was not denyed them. Thus being furniſhed with Help and Provifion, the *Indians* leaving them thus behind to come after with their ſeveral Burthens and a young Child; They could not but look upon it as a *Nutus Divinus*, to bid them ſhift for themſelves: the Woman alfo found a Needle and Thread in the Houfe, where they ſtayd on that Side of the Bay, with which having mended the *Canoo*, they ventured to get away; which proſperouſly ſucceeded; for in that old *Canoo* they croſſed a Water eight or nine Miles broad, and when they came on the South-fide of the Bay, they might have been in as much Danger of other *Indians* that had lately been about *Black-point*, and had taken it; but they



were newly gone: So Things on all Sides thus concurring to help forward their Deliverance, they came safely to the *Fat* at *Black-point*, where also by special Providence they met with a Vessel bound for *Pascataqua*, that came into that Harbour, but a few Hours before they came thither, by which Means they arrived safe in *Pascataqua* River, soon after, all which Circumstances are very worthy to be noted.

Amongst those *Indians* that seized this *Brackets* Family, the chief was one *Simond*, that newly or a little before had escaped out of *Dover* [32] Prison, where he was not over carefully lookt to; he had had his Hand in the Murder of fundry English, as himself confessed; not missing save one in the which he had discharged his Gun upon; but because he came in voluntarily, bringing in a Woman and five Children of the English, who had been carried Captive a little before, it was questioned, whether his last Act of Submission might not Ballance his former Transgression, and therefore was he committed to that not so secure a Prison, till his Case might be further considered of.<sup>169</sup> It is said that coming to that *Brackets* House over Night he pulled forth a counterfeited Pass, under the Hands of some publick Officers,<sup>170</sup> or Men intrusted with that Service, making shew of all Friendship; but in the Morning or soon

<sup>169</sup> See Note 165, *ante*, of this Volume.

a little further along, that the Pass purported to have been given by Major Waldern.

<sup>170</sup> It would seem by what is said

after, he pulled off his Vizour of a Friend, and discovered what he was, yet granting Life to this Person and his Family, that did not, or could not resist, which he denied to some of the Neighbours not far off, who were many of them killed by this bloody Villian and his Partners.

There are some Circumstances in the Assault of *Anthony Brackets* House very considerable, which, because it was the first Outrage committed by the *Indians* in this their second Insurrection, 1676, are worthy of a more particular remembering.

This Indian forementioned called *Simond*, after he had escaped out of Prison at *Dover*, came up to *Casco*, and either in the End of *July*, or Beginning of *August*, acquainted himself with this *Anthony Bracket*, and oft frequented his House: Upon the ninth of *August*, some of the *Indians* having killed a Cow of his, the *Indian Simond* coming to his House promised to bring the *Indians* to him that killed his Cow. In the mean Time they of the Place sent two Men to *Major Walderns* at *Dover*, to complain of this Injury done by the *Indians*; but before their Return, very early in the Morning on the eleventh of *August*, *Simond* with a Party of *Indians* came to *Anthony Bracket's* House, and told him there were the *Indians* that killed his Cow; but as soon as they had said that, the *Indians* went further into his House and took hold of all the Guns they could see. *Anthony Bracket* asked what was the

meaning of that ; *Simond* presently replied, that so it must be, asking him withal, whether he had rather serve the *Indians*, or be slain by them : *Anthony Bracket* answered, that if the Case were so, he would rather chuse to serve them, than be killed by them : *Simond* replied that then they must be bound, which presently was done. The said *Bracket*, his Wife and a Negro were all bound by the *Indians* ; his Wife had a Brother,<sup>171</sup> who offering to resist was killed forthwith, the Rest with five Children were led away Prisoners.

[33] Two Hours after, one *Pike*,<sup>172</sup> that lived not far off, but knowing nothing of all this, went up in a *Canoo* toward one *Robert Corbins* House, where he found one *Humphry Durham*, and *Benjamin Atwel* at Work about their *Hay* ; after a little stay, he left them, intending to go up higher with his *Canoo*, but as soon as he was a little past, he heard *Guns shot off*, which made him, with another Man he had with him, presently *return back* ; before he came beyond *Corbins* House he saw an *English Boy* running with all Haste, which made him Fear some Mischief was in Hand, and presently a *Volley of Shot* came against them, but the *Bullets* flying over their Heads, did them no

<sup>171</sup> Nathaniel Mitton. He was the only Son of Michael Mitton, and dying unmarried, the Name became extinct in Maine.

<sup>172</sup> *Richard Pike* lived on the West Side of Muscle Cove. He had a Son Samuel. *Willis*. Whether he originated at Newbury I do

not find. Coffin does not claim him, and probably knew nothing about him. Major Robert Pike was conspicuous in the later Eastern Wars, as associated with Colonel Church. I have an original Letter of his concerning the present War, dated March 1st, 1677.

Hurt: presently *Simond Indian* appeared, and called them to *come ashore*; but they liked not his *Courtesy*, but presently turning their *Canoo* into the Stream got out of the Reach of their Guns, hastening down to his *own House* with all Speed. When he came near to *his House*, he called to the *People* to make *hast away*, towards the *Garrison House*, and bid the Rest *look to themselves*, and *fire* upon the *Indians*, that were coming against them: In the mean while, *the Indians* passing from *Anthony Brackets* to *Corbins*, killed *Corbin himself* with *Humphrey Durham*, and *Benjamin Atwel* forementioned: Then passing on to other Houses, carried away some of them Captive, and killed others. At one of the next Houses, the *Woman and Children* got off into the *Water* by a *Canoo*; but one *James Rose*, his *Wife and Children* were carried away: *Corbins Wife* with one of the other *Mens Wives*; and the *Children* of *another* of them, they likewise carried away.

In another Side of the Town, three were, as they were going to *reap* at *Anthony Brackets*, passing from an House where they left their *Canoo*, met with by *J. Mount-Joy* and one *Wakely*,<sup>173</sup> to whom they told what had hapned. Soon after they heard two Guns shot off, whereby it seems *two Men* were killed, wherefore coming back towards *Thomas Brackets* where they had left their *Canoo*, they saw him *shot down* by the *Indians*; one of

<sup>173</sup> John Munjoy and Isaac Wake- of George Mungoy. Wakely was  
ly. The former was the oldest Son probably a Son of Thomas. Willis.



the *three*, not so well able to run, hid himself in the Bushes in *Hope to make his Escape* more conveniently afterwards, which accordingly he did; but in the mean Time he saw the *Indians* carry away *Thomas Brackets Wife and Children*. Soon after, the *three Men* aforesaid got safe to Mr. *Mount-Joys* Garrison, but not trusting to the Security of that Garrison, they soon after repayed to an *Island* in the Bay, called *James Andrews Island*.<sup>174</sup>

One *George Lewes* and *his Wife* tarried all this Time in their House till the next Day, when they had Opportunity to get safe to the *Island* aforesaid, together with the *two Men* that were now returned from *Major Waldern*; whither they had been sent, but *too late*, to make Complaint [34] of the *Indians* that had *counterfeited his Pass* to travail into those Parts, and had done this Mischief.

The Day after one *George Felt*<sup>175</sup> suspecting the worst by Reason of a Smoak he saw on the *opposite Side of the Town*, took his *Wife and Children* into a *Canoo* to see what the *Matter was*, but when he came near a *Point of Land* not far off, he found several of his *Neighbours Goods*, which made him conclude their Owners *were killed*, which

<sup>174</sup> Now Bangs's Island. It has been known under various Names. Its first Owner seems to have been George Cleeves, as early as 1637. It bore successively the Names of Pond, Michael, Munjoy, Palmer

and Peaks. *Willis*, 132-3. James Andrews is found living on the Island eight Years after Philip's War. See *Papers Rel. to Pemaquid*, 63.

<sup>175</sup> He was killed soon after, as will be seen presently.

was a *sufficient Warning* to him likewise to *fly for his Life*, which he did to the *same Island*. After they had fundry of them escaped thither, some of them remembered that they had *left Powder* behind them in *one or two Places*; whereupon they resolved to venture a Party of them in the Night, partly to *prevent the Indians* from having any Advantage thereof, and partly for their *own Defence if Occasion should be*; Their Attempt succeeded well, for they brought away a *Barrel of Powder* from one *Willes his House*, and likewise a considerable Quantity out of a Chest in a Storehouse, where the Indians had been *ransacking*, and had taken Things out of the *other End* of the *Chest*, yet *overlooked the Powder*: In this Surprizal of the *Plantations* in *Casco Bays*, called *Falmouth* there were *thirty four Persons killed and carried Captive*.<sup>176</sup>

That this was not a casual Attempt, but a *designed Plot*, it will appear, in that just about the very same Time, the Indians at *Kennibeeck*, made the *like Insurrection*, whereby it is concluded, either that the Indians which escaped from *Dover*, stirred them up thereunto, or else that the said Indians finding them in a *Disposition tending that Way*, by Reason of some Injuries done them that dwelt farther *Northward*, they offered their Service to *help forward* the Designe.

<sup>176</sup> It will be remembered that is the exact Number of the killed and captivated as mentioned in Clark's Letter. In a Letter of Brian Pendleton, copied by Willis, written at Win-

ter Harbor, two Days after the Massacre, it is stated that ten Men, six Women and sixteen Children were lost—being 32 in all, killed and carried away.

It is to be noted here, that the *Indians* about *Kennibeck*, were perswaded to continue their former *Amity* with the *English* notwithstanding the Report of *Philips Rising that Year before*, and the *Outrages* committed the *last Autumne*, and *Winter* following, yet which is more, they had lately *renewed their League* with the *English* in those Parts, although they had often complained to those of *Pemmaquid*, of the Injury they suffered in the withholding from them the *Trade of Powder*, and *Shot*, without which they said they cannot *subsist*, and for Want of which it is alleaged by themselves, that some of them *perished* the last *Winter*.

But the Quarrel of late *fallen out* betwixt the the *English*, and the *Indians* about *Kennibeck*, and *Eastward* thereof, being a Matter of *great Consequence*; for the farther Satisfaction of the Reader, it shall in what follows, be more *particularly described*; it being the Duty of every one [35] that *published Things* of this Nature, to do the *Right of an Historian* to all Sorts of *Persons* any Way concerned in what is *made Publick*; the Information was received from a *prudent Person*, an *Eye* and *Ear Witness* of all that hapned amongst the said *Indians*, both the *former* and present *Year*, and one that was of more *publick Concernment* in those *Transactions* than some others, therefore may the more heed be given thereto.<sup>177</sup> Mention is

<sup>177</sup> It may not be worth while to hazard a Conjecture as to who this Person was; so many there are, probably, to whom it would equally apply. Perhaps some Ipswich Man —one of the Author's Neighbors.

already made of what hapned in *September*, 1675, to the Company belonging to a *Sloop*, and two other Boats, that went up *Casco Bay* to gather Indian Corn. Upon that Accident it is said, divers Indians on the *East Side* of *Kennebeck River* repaired to their Fort at *Totonnock*<sup>178</sup> (a Place up higher into the Country beyond *Kennebeck* and *Shipscot River*) where was an *English trading House*. And the Indians *Eastward* of the said River, had as yet done no Harm to any of the *English*, yet did *Captain Sylvanus Davis* Agent for *Major Clarke*, and *Captain Lake* of *Boston*, upon these *Overtures* think it fit to fetch down the *Powder* and *Shot* with other Goods from the said *Trading House*, telling the Indians, by the Messenger sent up, he would have them come down and live below in that River, to take off *Jealousies*, and that he would then supply them with what was needful.

But the *Messenger* told them in Case they would not come down and deliver up their Arms, the *English* would kill them. *He that sendeth a*

<sup>178</sup> A very noted Point on the Kennebec, at the Confluence with it of the Sebasticook, now in the Town of Winslow. The original Indian Fort was at the Tongue of Land formed by the two Rivers. It is 64 Miles from the Sea, by the Course of the Kennebec, and 18 Miles from Augusta. Here Fort Halifax was built by Order of Governor Shirley in 1754. Col. Church pursued the Indians to *Taconock* in

his Expedition of 1692. Thirty seven Years ago I saw a Block House standing near here, in a good state of preservation. As early as 1653 Christopher Lawton purchased a large Tract of Land on both Sides of the Kennebeck, including "*Totonock*," which in 1752 was owned or claimed by "*Sir Byby Lake and Hutchinson*." A good Gazetteer and convenient Map of Maine are much needed.



*Message by the Hand of a Fool* saith Solomon, *cutteth off the Feet and drinketh Dammage.* This Message was delivered by him that went, as was *confessed* by himself, who put it into his Mouth, or whether it was *devized* in his *own Heart*, it concerns not us now to enquire, but the *Dammage* that Side of the Country hath been made to *drink thereby*, is not easy to *recount*; for upon this threatening Message the Indians *forsook* their *Fort* presently, and went *Eastward*, and sent abroad to *Johns River* and to the *Sea Side* to get all the Indians they could together to come up *Penobscot River*.

A Gentleman who at that Time lived at *Pemaquid*,<sup>179</sup> a kind of *Superintendent* over the Affairs of that Place, considering the *sad State* things were running into, laboured to *obtain a Parly* with the said Indians, or some of them, which after much Trouble and Cost, he did accomplish. But in the mean Time, such was the *Violence* used by some *refractory English* in those Parts, that they could scarce be *restrained* from *offering Violence* to the *Persons* he *sent up* as *Messengers*, or others that *lived quietly amongst them*, and did also as violently *set themselves* to oppose himself, or any others that acted with more *Moderation* than the Rest; protesting against them, as those who *for Gain* supplied the Indians with [36] *Powder and Shot*, and said they would kill any Indian they met; others at *Monbigan* offered *five Pound* for every Indian that should be brought, yet would

<sup>179</sup> Mr. John Earthy, whose Name will appear a few Pages hence.

not these Persons that were *so violent* against the Indians in their Discourse, be perswaded upon any Terms, then, or afterward, to *go out to fight against* the Indians in an *orderly Way*; as appeared both by their Security in not *standing better upon their Gaurd*, and by their sudden Flight afterward, running away like a *Flock of Sheep*, at the *Barking* of any *little Dog*: Things being in this *Posture*, what could be expected but a *present Warr* with the Indians, although as it seems, there were few or none like to be found, willing to undertake it, or fit to manage it in those Parts. However, the Person aforesaid, understanding the *General Court at Boston* had appointed a *Counsel of Warr at Kennibeck*, applyed himself to them, laying before them the *desperate Estate* things were falling into; whereupon they issued out Warrants to restrain all Manner of Persons from meddling with the Indians without farther Order, which within a few Days should be had. In the mean Time the *Sachems* of the Indians meet at *Pemaquid*; where, after many Complaints made of the *hard dealing* of the English in *Kennibeck River*, they came to *Terms of Peace*, promising to keep true Friendship with the *English*; and to hinder the *Amonoscoggan* Indians from meddling with the *English*; if by any Means they could, and also to *return peacably* in the Spring of the Year. This Gentleman aforesaid, having a long Time waited to go to *Boston*, was willing to take the Opportunity of the *present Winter*, hoping Things were now pretty well settled in those Parts *betwixt the In-*

*dians and the English*; found soon after, that he was *cited thither* to Answer some Complaints (though made without Ground) for selling *Powder and Shot* to the Indians contrary to Order.

But those false Opinions being easily blown away by his own Appearance at *Boston*, and so having dispatched his Occasions there, he returned before the Winter was over to *Pemaquid*, where hearing of a *Vessel* that intended to take Indians in those Parts, and carry them away to a *Market*, the which he had many *strong Reasons* to believe (it being no hard Matter to surprize many such, that suspecting by [no?] Fraud, would easily be enticed *aboard a Vessel* to Trade, or may be to *drink Liquor*) sent both the *Master and Company*, if they had any such Intent to forbear, seeing those Indians were at *Peace with us*, and likewise to the Indians, to *inform them* of such a *Vessel*, and to *beware thereof*, but yet it seems the *Master and Company* took several Indians *Eastward*, who were also at Peace with us, and to our great *Sorrow* shipt them *aboard for a Market*.<sup>180</sup>

[37] The Winter being now over, the fore-named *Agent of Pemaquid*, went to a Meeting of the Indians *Eastward*, to *perswade them* of the Cuntrys *Willingness* to continue a *Peace with them*. They seemed very joyful thereat, and in the Spring brought some *Presents to confirm the Peace*, and to that End also delivered up an *English Captive Boy* to those of *Kennibeeck*. But when the Sum-

<sup>180</sup> Whether this Passage has reference to those Indians before mentioned in the Depositions of Miller and Sherburn, I am not assured.

mer came on, that the said Indians had Liberty to *travel up and down* the Country to visit their Friends as they used to do; they missed those their *Friends* who had in the Winter *perfidiously been carryed away*, and as is related, they fell into a Rage against the *English*, making Complaint thereof to the said *Agent, Mr. Earthy*,<sup>181</sup> *Mr. Richard Oliver*, and others: They were told, Means should be used for bringing them *back again*, which had been so transported; those to whom the Complaint was made did scarce believe it to be true, as not having *heard thereof* from any *other Hand*, and probably hoping none, especially after solemn Warning, would deal so *perfidiously with Heathens*, to lay such a *Stumbling Block* before them.

The Indians being *certain* of the *Thing done*, could not be *easily pacified*, being likewise increased [incensed] against the *English*, for *withholding* the Trade of *Powder and Shot* the last *Winter*, saying, they were *frighted from their Corn* the last Year by the People about *Kennibeck*, so as many of them *died* in the following *Winter* for want of *Powder and Shot*, wherewith to *kill Venison and Foul*; adding withal, that if the *English* were their Friends as they pretended, they would not suffer them to dye, for Want thereof: However, the *said Agent* making the best he could of a *bad Cause*, used all Means to *pacifie the Complainers*,

<sup>181</sup> Mr. John Earthy. His Name again appears to the Treaty with Mugg, at Boston, Nov. 13th following. I have met with no other mention of him. The Name is an uncommon one.



and to that End promised them, that if they could meet with any of the *Amonoscoggan* Indians (who it seems all along had the *bitterest Enmity* against the *English*) he would give them a Meeting to *treat in Order to a Peace*, Major Waldern having already concluded a Peace with the *Pascataqua and Casco Indians*,<sup>182</sup> and by that Means, if they could conclude the like Peace with the *Amonoscoggan* Men (that could not yet be found) there would be a *general Peace* with all the Indians *Eastward of Pascataqua*, which the Indians that were present at this Discourse, seemed *very joyful at*: yet still by one *fatal Accident* or other, *Jealousies* still seemed to *increase in their Minds*, or else the *former Injuries* began to *boyl afresh* in their Spirits, as not being easily *digested*, what ever had been *said or done* to *allay the Offensiveness thereof*. Soon after comes a *Post* from *Totonnock*, to desire him to repair thither according to his Promise, where they told him he should meet with *Squanto* and divers *Amonoscoggan Sachems*, and that *Mug* was sent *Post* to fetch the said *Squanto*: [38] This Gentleman<sup>183</sup> mindful of his Promise, went with the *Post* to *Kennibek*, and finding *Captain Lake* at his House in *Arowick*, it was judged meet that *Captain Sylvester* [*Sylvanus*] *Davis* should go

<sup>182</sup> That of July 3d, 1676, is probably the Treaty referred to. It is printed in the *Book of the Indians*, eleventh Edition, Page 699.

<sup>183</sup> Mr. Shurte, according to Williamfon. If Abraham Shurte he

was a very old Man at this Period; as by a Deposition of his dated December 26th, 1662, he was then 80 Years of Age. In the same Deposition he says he came to New England in 1626.

along with him, with Instructions from the *Counsel* then sitting in *Kennibeck*, how to carry on their *Treaty*. After they had gone Part of their Way towards *Totonnock*, they came to an English House, where they were told, what great *Jealousies of Deceit* in the Indians were upon their Spirits, from what they had heard of *Muggs*, and *Tarumkin* an *Amonoscoggan Sachem*; going farther to a Place called *Kedonu Cook*,<sup>184</sup> they met with Indians, who were very *shy of telling* them any thing, which added to the *former Intimation*, greatly *increased their Fears*: But being resolved of their Voyage, they went onward still in *their Way*, yet falling short of the Place, *on purpose* that they might *finish their Business* with them the *next Day*: When they came to their *Fort*, they were first saluted with a *Volley of Shot*, then brought into a *Wigwam* where their *Sachems* were: *Madockawando* sate as Chief, who now styles himself their *Minister*: Being set in a *Council*, they made *Affiminasqua* their Speaker, whose *adopted Son* was the said *Madockewando*: He told them it was not *their Custome*, if any came as *Messengers* to treat with them, *to seize upon their Persons*, as sometimes the *Mohawks* did with such as had been sent to them: *Captain Davis* and the other *Gentleman* told them, therein they *dealt like Men*: Answer was presently made them; you did *otherwise by our Men*, when *fourteen* came to *treat* with you; and set a *Gaurd over them*, and

<sup>184</sup> Probably *Meduncook*.

took away *their Guns*: And not only so, but a second Time you *required our Guns*, and demanded us to *come down* unto you, or else you would kill us, which was the Cause of our *leaving both our Fort*, and *our Corn* to our great Loss.

It was without doubt no small Trouble to their Minds, in a Treaty with these *Pagans*, *Hæc dici potuisse, non potuisse refelli*: Yet to put the *best Construction* might be, on such *irregular Actions*, which could not well be *justified*, they told them, the Persons who had so done, were not within the Limits of their Government, and therefore though they could not *call them to account* for *so acting*, yet they did *utterly disallow* thereof: Adding farther, as soon as we understood thereof, we sent for you to *Pemaquid*, and treated you kindly, and kept you, as you know, from the Violence of the English. The Indians replied, we do but inform you, and will Treat further in the *Afternoon*. But when the *Afternoon came*, our two *Messengers* told them, their Business was to treat with the *Amonoscoggan Sachems*, and that they were sorry *Squanto* was not there: Then having confirmed their Peace with [39] those *Eastward Indians*, they intreated the *Amonoscoggan Men* to speak, who likewise urged *Taremkin*, the chief *Amonoscoggan Sachem*, to speak, who after *some Pauze*, said he had been to the *Westward*, where he had found many Indians *unwilling for Peace*: But, says he, I found *three Sachems* (whom he named, though those he spake to knew them not)

willing to *have Peace*; and for my own Part, I am *willing for Peace*, and gave them his Hand with Protestation of his continuing in Friendship; so did *seven or eight more* of the *Amonoscoggan* Men, whose Names they took, of whom *Mug* and *Robin Hoods* Son were two. After this *Madochewando* asked them what they should do for Powder and Shot, when they had eaten up their Indian Corn, what they should do for the *Winter*, for their hunting Voyages; asking withall, whether they would have them dye, or leave their Country, and go all over to the *French*. Our Messengers told him they would do what they could with the *Governor*; some might be *allowed them* for *Necessity*: He said they had waited long already, and therefore would have them now say *Yea*, or *Nay*; whether they should have *Powder as formerly or not*? Our Messengers then replied; your selves say, many of the *Western* Indians would not have Peace, and therefore if we sell you *Powder*, and you give it to the *Western* Men, what do we but cut our own Throats? Adding further, it is not in our Power, *without leave*, if you should *wait ten Years* more, to let you have *Powder*; at which Words they seemed much to be offended.

But yet the next Day they resolved to go down with them and to speak with the *Western* Men, thereby, if it might be, to stop their further proceeding.

So going down with them *the next Day*, they



met with some Indians who had got *strong Liquor* with whom they fell a drinking: Our Messengers *stayed at two Places* for them, and finding that still they tarried behinde, not knowing what *farther to do*, they went Home, it being the *sixth Day* of the Week. But the next Night save one, News came to *Kennibeck*, that the Indians had killed divers English in *Casco*, although it was not yet known at *Pemmaquid*. Upon this News *Capt. Davis* set out one Sentinal the next Night; the rest, (such was *their Security*) went all else to bed, and in the Morning were all like *Laish* surprized: thus might it be said, *Invadunt Ædem somno (si non) vinoq; sepultam*. The Particulars of the *surprizing of Kennibeck*, and *Arowsick House* are thus related by such as were acquainted therewith.

Upon the *thirteenth of August*, 1676. several Indians repaired in the [40] Evening to the House of one Mr. *Hammond*, an ancient Inhabitant and Trader with the Indians up *Kennibeck River*. His *Daughter* or a *Maid* that was *Servant* in the House either, *naturally afraid* of the *Natives*, or else upon something *she observed* in their *Countenances*, or *Carriage* manifested so much *Fear*, as made her *run out of the House* to hide herself in some *Place abroad*. The Indians perceiving it, the more to *dissemble their Treachery*, ran after her, and brought her into the House, telling her (although they could not persuade her so to believe) that there was no Reason to be *afraid* of

them ; presently after, more of the *barbarous Villians* coming into the House, she grew *more afraid than before*, being now more strongly perswaded that they came on *purpose* to *kill or surprize* those in the Family ; whereupon she suddenly made an *Escape* out of the House, and presently passed into a *Field of Indian Corn*, whereby she might the better avoid the *Danger of any Pursuer*, and so ran across over the Land that Night *ten or twelve Miles*, to give them Notice that lived at *Shipscot River* ; it is said that after she got out, she heard a Noyse in the House, as if they were *Fighting or Scuffling within Doors* ; but she did not count it Wisdom to go back to see what the *Matter was*, knowing enough before of their *Villanys*, how well soever *her Mrs.* (that was *more versed* in the Trade of the Indians) might think of them. Those of *Shipscot* taking this Warning escaped away as soon as they could, leaving their *Cattel and their Dwellings* as a *Prey* to the Indians. What befel *Master Hammond and his Family* is not yet certainly known : Reports past up and down, that some who came down the River afterwards, saw *some of the Dead stripped* upon the *Bank* of the River, which makes us fear the worst, concerning all the Rest ; for certainly the *whole Family*, *sixteen in Number*, were all at that Time either *killed*, or carryed away Captive, none save the Maid aforesaid, being known to make any other Escape, to *inform* their Friends, like *Jobs Messengers*, what befel the Rest of the Family.<sup>187</sup>

<sup>185</sup> " At the same Time, August 13, a Blow was struck at the Life

The Indians having in this Manner *surprized* Mr. *Hammonds House*, they passed down the River the same Night; but going by *another House*, meddled not with the People, only *turned their Canoes a drift*, that they might not finde Means afterwards to *escape themselves*, or *help others* to do so: possibly their chief Aim being at *Arowick House*, they would not for Fear of being discovered, make any Attempt upon any Place near by: wherefore *August the fourteenth* very early in the *Morning*, having in the *Night*, or before *break of Day* passed over on to the *Island* called *Arowick*, several of them undiscovered lay hid under the aforesaid House behind a *great Rock* near adjoining, till the *Sen*[41]*tin*el was gone off from his Place (who went off it seems sooner than was Reason, considering the Danger) when presently some Indians *followed him in* at the *Fort-Gate*, (as some Report) while others of them *immediately seized the Port Holes thereof*, and *shot down* all they saw passing up and down *within the Walls*, and so in a little Time became *Masters of the Fort*, and all that was within it. *Captain Lake* (joynt

and Possessions of Richard Hammond, at Stinson's Point (Woolwich). He had been for a long Time a Trader with the Indians; and they complained, as they were wont to do, of his cheating them." Williamson, *Hist. of Maine*, i, 535. "In the Year 1676, there was a Fort on the East Bank of Kennebeck River, within the Town of

Georgetown. One Hammond, a Trader, lived in the Fort, and probably was the Person who built it. The Business of his trading carried him up to Teconnet Falls, where he was imprudent enough to rob the Indians of their Furs while they were intoxicated." Sullivan, *Hist. Maine*, 171. It is probable that but few of such Outrages were recorded.

Owner with *Major Clark*<sup>186</sup> of the whole *Island*) hearing the *Buffle* that was *below*, betwixt the Indians and those that belonged to the Place, was *strangely surprized*, yet *himself with Captain Sylvanus Davis* and *two more*, understanding that the Indians had seized the *Fort*, and *killed* divers of the *English*, apprehending it *bootless*, or rather *heartless* to stay, as not being able to *stand upon their Guard*, or make any Resistance, made a shift to find some Passage out at a *back Door*, whereby they escaped to the *Water-side*, where they found a *Canoo*, into which they all entered and made away toward another *Island* near by : this was not done so secretly but the Indians *discerned them* before they were gone farr ; *four of them* therefore hastened after those that had escaped, in another *Canoo*, and coming within *Shot*, discharged their *Guns* upon them, whereby *Sylvanus Davis* was sorely *wounded* ; yet making haste, as generally they use to do that *fly for their Lives, timor addidit alas*, they got a Shore before the Indians *overtook them*. It is said they were *strangely dispirited*, or else they might easily have defended themselves against *their Pursuers* : But when once *Mens Hearts are sunk with Fear and Discouragement*, upon a sudden *Surprizal*, it is hard to buoy them up, to make any competent *Resistance* : *Capt. Davis* being sadly wounded, could neither trust to his *Legs to fly*, nor yet make use of his *Hands*

<sup>186</sup> Thomas Clarke. See *History* Copy of his Autograph may be seen  
and *Antiquities of Boston*, 422. A at Page 341 of the same Work.



to Fight, yet was *strangely preserved*; Providence directing him to go into the *Cleft of a Rock* hard by the Place, where he first landed. The Indians by the *glittering of the Sun beams* in their *Eyes* as they came a *Shore*, did not discern him; so as lying hid under the Covert of the *Hand of Providence*, for two Days, he at last *crawled* a little about the *Water Side*, till he found a *Canoo*, whereby he *escaped away* with his Life, much adoe.<sup>197</sup> The other two Men, were *better foot Men*, and parting from *Captain Lake* made their escape *ten or a dozen Mile*, to the further End of the *Island*, and so escaped from the Indians, till they found Means to get off. *Poor Captain Lake*, that a few *Hours before*, slept quietly in his *Mansion House*, surrounded with a strong Fortification, defended with *many Soldiers*, is now forced to *fly away with none to attend him*. And as the *Awful Hand of Divine Providence* ordered things, was as some say, *pur[42]sued* by such Indians as were *meer Strangers* to the Place, that knew not *the Masters from the Man*, by one of whom he was *shot down*, as is supposed, soon after his coming ashore. *Lieut. Davis* heard *two Guns* by which was thought, and soon after was known so to be, by an Indian which since hath confessed to *Cap-*

<sup>197</sup> He lived many Years after this, dying in Boston, early in 1704. An original Paper of his in the Editor's possession, dated 28th Feb., 1679-80, sets forth the Proceedings of "Sir Edmond Androws" towards

John Dering, in compelling him to leave his House and to remove from the West to the East Side of the Kennebec. Capt. Davis deservedly finds a Place in Dr. Allen's valuable *American Biographical Dictionary*.

*tain Davis*, that he shot him that Day *Arowsick* was taken, which he intended not to have done, but that he *held up his Pistol* against him, whereas if he had but *asked Quarter* he should have had his Life. *Captain Lake* was slain at that Time, although many Hopes were for some Time maintained, that he was *taken alive* and kept with *other Captives*, amongst the Indians; and 'tis said the Indians of those Parts did not intend to kill him, if they could have helped it: But it was known, that *his Hat* was seen upon an *Indians Head* not long after, which made his Friends conclude what had befallen the *Owner*, *that good Man*, who might *imphatically* be so termed in *Distinction* from them that may truly be called *Just Men*, and no more: For it seems according to the *just Agreement* betwixt himself and his *Part-owner* of *Arowsick Island*, it was not *his turn* this Year to have been *upon the Place*, but such was *his Goodness*, that he yeilded to the Desire of his *Friend* and *Partner*, as in his *Room* and *Stead* to take upon himself *that Service* in this *Time of Danger*; it is hoped his Goodness in *future Time* will not be forgotten by such as were any way concerned therein, or had *Advantage thereby*.<sup>188</sup>

<sup>188</sup> Capt. Thomas Lake was Son of Richard Lake, Esq. of Erby, County of Lincoln, England, and half Brother of Sir Edward Lake, who distinguished himself in the bad Cause of Charles the First, being severely

wounded in the Battle of Edge Hill. He left a Son Thomas, born in Boston, Feb. 1656, who went to England, became a Barrister of the Middle Temple, and died 22d May, 1711. Sir Bibye Lake was Son of this Son,

This Island (called *Arowsick* from an Indian so named, that formerly possessed it, and of whom it was purchased by one Mr. Richards<sup>189</sup> who sold it to *Captain Lake* and *Major Clark*) lyes up *ten Miles* within the *Mouth of Kennibeeck River*; it is some *Miles in Length*, and containeth many *thousand Acres* of very good *Land*; where *Meadow* and *arable Ground* are in a good *Proportion* well suited together; within the Fort aforesaid were convenient *Buildings* for several *Offices*, as well for *Wares* and *Trading*, as *Habitation*: *six several Edifices* are said to have been *there erected*. The *Warehouse* at that *Time* was well furnished with all *Sorts of Goods*; besides a *Mill* and other *Accommodations*, and *Dwellings* within a *Mile of the Fort* and *Mansson House*; some of whose *Inhabitants* hardly made their *Escape* upon the *first surprizal of the Fort*.

All which considered, the *Loss* that befel the *Proprietours* at the *surprizal of this Island* seems to be very great, valued at many thousands: but those that were the *Owners* with others of *late Times*, have found in their *own Experience* what *Solomon* said of old, *There is a Time to get, and a Time to loose, a Time to keep, and a Time to cast*

and inherited *Lands* in *Maine* in *Right* of his *Grandfather*. *Capt. Lake's Daughter, Anne*, married, 1st, the *Rev. John Cotton* of *Hampton, N. H.*, and 2dly, *Increase Mather, D. D.* *MS. Pedigree* of *Lake*, in *Possession* of *J. W. Thornton, Esq.* From a *Deposition* of *Capt.*

*Lake* it appears that he was born in 1615; and hence was 61 at the *Time* of his *Death*.

<sup>189</sup> Mr. John Richards. Interesting Particulars of this enterprising Man may be seen in *Farmer's Register*, and *Savage's New England Genealogical Dictionary*.

away ; a Time to [43] break down, as well as a Time to build. The Persons killed and taken at Kennibeeck, both at Mr Hammonds and at Arrow-sick, are said to be fifty three.

Upon the Report of this *sad Disaster*, all the Plantations of the *English* in those Parts were soon after left, and forsaken by Degrees. All the Rest of the Inhabitants of *Kennibeeck River*, *Shipscot River*, *Sagade-hock*, *Damanicottee*, fearing to be served in the same kind, fled to the Islands of *Cape Bonawagan* and *Damorils Cove*.

On the *second Day at Night* a Post was sent to *Pemmaquid* to inform them of what had hapned, who being but *eight or ten Men*, were minded to go to the Island called *Monbiggon*, having secured the *best of their Goods*, but the Wind taking them short, they were forced to turn into *Damorils Cove*, where they found Mr. *Wiswal* and Mr. *Colicot*. There they laboured *two Days* to settle a *Garrison* ; But partly by the *Mutinousness* of the People, and partly by the *Want of Provision* nothing could be done to *secure the Island*, so that it was presently deserted : From thence they went to *Monbiggon*, resolving there to tarry till they had heard from *Boston*, from whence Mr. *Colicot* and Mr. *Wiswal* promised to do their *utmost Endeavour* to send help. There they settled *three Gaurds*, and appointed *five and twenty to Watch every Night*, not knowing but that the Indians might come every Hour. But continuing there a *Fort-night*, and finding no Relief like



to come; and seeing all the Country *burned round about*, (for after they had gotten all that could be saved from *Pemaquid*, they saw all the other Islands *Windgins Corbins Sound, New-Harbour, Pemaquid*, all on fire in two Hours Time) then considering what was best to be done, they found no Boats could be *sent to Sea* for fear of *weakning the Island*, and that most of those that were upon the Island, were *Strangers, Coasters*, and such as came from the *Mayne*, and were ready to *be gone* upon every Occasion, they laid an *Imbargoe* for one Weeks Time; after which a Letter was received from Major *Clark*, desiring their *Assistance* for enquiring after *Capt. Lake if alive*,<sup>190</sup> saving what could be had at *Kennibek, &c.* but intimating nothing of any Help like to come, besides those that *brought the Letter* told them, it was in *vain to expect* any Help from *Boston*. It being questioned there, what they had to do with those Parts, upon which the Inhabitants considered,

<sup>190</sup> A Ray of Light is shed here from a Paper found in the Archives at the State House. John Lake, brother of the lamented Capt. Thomas, petitioned the General Court to delay the Execution of a certain Indian then in Prison under Sentence of Death, hoping by the Means of the condemned Prisoner, to redeem his Brother, who he trusted might be a Captive in the Indian's Hands somewhere in the Eastern Wilderneys; as his Death was unknown for some Time after

the Destruction of Arrowick. The Petition is dated at Boston, Sept. 15th, 1676. He says, "there is, and hath been Common Fame of my Brother being Captive . . . and hearing nothing to the Contrary, gives some Hopes that it may be so." He therefore prayed that the Execution of the condemned Indian (Sagamore Sam) might be delayed for the present. But his Prayer was "denied," and Sam was executed "at the Towns End," only ten Days thereafter. See Page [72, forward.

that if they should tarry there, and spend all their *Provision*, and neither *be able* to go to *Sea*, nor yet to *live*, or *be safe ashore* for want of *Help*, it were better for them to remove, while they had something to *live upon*, and seek *Employment* elsewhere; so by *Consent* they *resolved* forthwith to *transport themselves*, and what they [44] *had saved* of their *Goods* to *some Place of Security*, so they took the *first Opportunity* to *set sayle*, some for *Pascataqua*, some for *Boston*, and some for *Salem*, at one of which *three Places* they all *safely arrived*.

Having thus escaped at first as *Lot out of Sodom*, but not counting themselves safe in that *Zoar*, where for a little while they made shift to *hide their Heads*, till they might *Escape* to some *surer Place*, there waiting for *better Times*, when they may with *Peace and Quietness* return to their former *Habitations*, or *seek some other* else where.

When the *foresaid Exploits* were done by the *Indians* in and about *Casco Bay*, several of the *English* removed to *Jewels Island*, where they hoped to be *more secure* from the *Indians*, but their barbarous *Enemy* finding so little *Resistance* made against them *on the main Land*, a considerable *Party* of them came *with their Canoos* to destroy that *Island* also, about *three Weeks* after the aforementioned *Mischiefs*.

There was a fortified *Houfe* upon the *said Island*, where the *English* that either kept upon the *Island*, or repayed thither, hoped to have *secured themselves*. But *at that Time* when the

Indians assaulted the Place, many of the *English were absent*, few left in the *Garrison*, but *Women and Children*: some were gone to *other Places* to fetch *Indian Corn*, others were in a *Boat* employed about *Fish*, amongst whom was one *Richard Potts*<sup>191</sup> with *two more*. The Wife of the said *Potts* was *Washing by the Water Side*, where she was *surprized with her Children*, and *carried away* in Sight of her *Husband*, who was not a *little distressed* with that *sad Spectacle*, but was *not able* to afford *any Relief* either to *Wife or Children*, although *one of the Children* espying his *Father in his Boat*, ran into the *Water*, calling out for *Help*, but an *Indian ran after him* to catch him up, the *poor Man* in a great *Agony* being within *half shot*, was about to have *fired upon the Indian*, but then fearing he might *wound his Child* which the *Villian* had laid *hold of*, he *fobore*, rather suffering him to be *carried away alive*, than be exposed to so *manifest Danger of his Life, or Limbs*, by shooting at the *Indian*.

It is said that some of the *Indians were killed by them* in the *Garrison*: They speak of a *Lad* that at one *Shot killed two or three* of them. Some *Guns* were found afterwards under the *Fort*, which were supposed to have belonged to some of the *Indians that were killed*. Some that were *abroad* when the *Fort* was assaulted, *desperately broke in*

<sup>191</sup> *Richard Potts*, as Mr. Willis has the Name. Nothing is heard of him after this Destruction of his Family. He seems to have escaped

the Grasp of the *Indians* at that Time. In 1666, his Name occurs as a Juror in a murder Trial at *Scarborough*.

through the Indians, whereby at the last, many of the People were preserved: some flying away from Jewels Island in a Canoo toward Richmond Island, they met with a Ketch, to which they made known the Distress the People were in, who thereupon went to the Place, and took in all the People they found [45] there, and carryed them off to a Place of more Safety. Yet were there several Persons said to be killed and carryed away at that Time, viz. three Men, who were known to be killed, two Women and two Children, that are supposed to be yet alive, though in the Enemies Power.

From thence they went to *Spurwinks*, where they assaulted one Place or more, and killed one Man, wounded another, and carryed another away Captive: Amongst them that were in Danger of surprizal, one that could not run, hid himself in a Garden of Cabbages so as he was not found, yet was very near them; for he over heard several Questions, they asked him they took; by which Means he was the better enabled afterward to prevent the Danger two more were coming into; for the poor Fellow that they had taken, told them that one *Ghendal*<sup>192</sup> with another Man were to come that Way by and by; whereupon this Man that hid himself, meeting that *Ghendal* and the other Man, gave them Notice of the Danger,

<sup>192</sup> *Walter Gendall*, as his Name is usually written. He was a Man of considerable Distinction in those Parts, as the Histories of Maine show. A Part of his Record when a Prisoner will be given farther along.



whereby they were *delivered* out of the *Snare* for that Time; not long after one of them, *viz.* *Mr Ghendal* fell into their Hands as shall be declared afterwards. Within a while after, or much about that same Time, another *sad Accident* befel *six or seven* of them that belonged to *Casco*. For upon the *twenty third of September* some Persons that belonged to a *Sloop* and a *Schallop*, that were *pressed into the Service* (one Reason of which was to prevent their stragling, they being Persons that belonged to those Parts about *Casco*) were over desirous to save some of their *Provision*, to which End they first made their Address to *Captain Hathorne*,<sup>193</sup> (under whom they were *ordered to serve*) desiring they might *be released*; the *Captain* told them he could not do it, but desired them to *have Patience* for a while, they told him, that *they must* and *would go*, else their Families must *starve at Home*: The *Captain* told them further

<sup>193</sup> *William Hathorne*. Some of the Family of a later Day write *Hawthorne*. The old Captain was a Man of Note, and although he finds a Place in Dr. Allen's *Amer. Biog. Dictionary*, the Doctor did not find anything of Consequence about him; for the simple Reason, perhaps, that he did not look for anything. His Autograph, and also that of the misguided Judge in the Witch Trials, are before me, both well and plainly written *Hathorne*. Although then near 70 years old, he had been appointed Commander in Chief of the Forces sent against

the Indians in the Fall of 1676; and a Copy of his Instructions are now before me, signed by Maj. Gen. Denison. In these he was ordered "with all Expedition to march his Forces to Exeter, and to inform himself by Major Waldron and the Committee (if they may be had) of the State of Affairs in those Parts, and the Posture of the Enemy, and with their Advice and the Council of the other Captains, apply himself vigorously to prosecute the Enemy," &c. The Instructions bear Date August 29th, 1676. He died about 1681, aged 74.

of the Danger, and bid them not stir at their Peril: However they would go, and soon after went to *Mount-joyes Island* to fetch Sheep, where they landed *seven Men*; but the Indians presently set upon them, they presently betook themselves to the *Ruines of a Stone House* where they defended themselves as long as they could; but at last they were all *destroyed* either with *Stones cast in upon them*, or else with the *Enemies Shot*, except one, who, though at the first it was hoped his *Wounds* were not *Mortal*, yet soon after *died thereof*: amongst these was one *George Felt*, much lamented, who had been more active than any Man in those Parts against the Indians, but at the last he lost *his own Life* among them, in this *too desperate* an Adventure.<sup>194</sup>

The Indians growing more bold by these Attempts in those remote Places, drew down nearer towards *Pascataqua*, for not long after a Party [46] of them came upon *Cape Nidduck*, where they *killed and carried away* all the Inhabitants of a few scattering Houses, to the Number of *seven in all*, and such was their *Salvage Cruelty exercised* in this Place, as is not usually heard of; for, having *ashed out the Brains of a poor Woman that*

<sup>194</sup> "He was a useful and enterprising Man, and had been more active against the Indians than any other in this Vicinity. He left a Family who moved to Chelsea, in which Neighborhood his Descendants are yet living. His Wife was a Daughter of Jane Mackworth, by whom

he had three Sons, George, Samuel, and Jonathan. The Father of Geo. Felt was born in 1601, lived in N. Yarmouth three Years, was one of the Malden Settlers, where he died in 1693, aged 92. The Rev. Joseph B. Felt, of Salem is of this Family." *Willis*.

*gave suck, they nayled the young Child to the dead Body of its Mother, which was found sucking in that rueful Manner, when the People came to the Place. The Day before a Man and his Wife were killed by them at Wells, and two Men more soon after.*<sup>195</sup>

<sup>195</sup> It appears from a Statement sworn to at Boston the following March, by Henry Horwood and Thomas Richardson, that, "About the 16th of October, being att Wells under Command of Lift. Edward Crick [*Creeke*] thur cam Indians and fell vpon the same; kiled one Antient Man and a Youth about 16 Years old, and wounded three as they war in the Fort. I [the said Horwood] being in the Garison called the Mill Garrison after feuerall Shott, shut in vppon vs, came in one Walter Gendle to treat with vs. His first Salutation was with Tears, that he was a poor Captiue and that he was sent by Generall Mogg to know whar [whether] we would surrender our Garison. The said Gendle came derictly from Frances Littlefield's Garison, that same time wharof Lift. Cricke was then Comander. The said Gendle told vs that thar was one kild, and that he was sent for to *look* for old Frank Littlefield whar [whether] he was att that Garison, because that his Wife had a Desire to haue him com home. The Quistion was asked by me, how he shold gett home. Gendle answered that he wold ingage his Life, if tenn of vs wold goe from Garison to Garison, or any Part of

the Town, if he went with vs holding vpp a Stick with a whit Cloth one itt, if we war without Armes, he wold ingage his Life to conuoy vs without any Molestation, and further beged that we wold surrender our Garison for Gods sake and the poor Women and Children Sake, and that itt was his chief End in getting leaue of Mogg to parswad vs that we might not be cut of; he said further that they had many Inuentions with burch Rinds and Brimstone, and other Combustibles that they wold com in the Neight and burn our Fortifications and Houses within thenr and destroy vs if we war a Hundred in a Garison, and if he had £20 to pay his Ransome they wold nott kill hime, and if itt was his Cafe as itt was ours, if he had a 100 Houses he wold giue them all. And further said that the High ways war all waylaid, and the Sea-side and the Woods round the Town, and that if we did send any Post he wold certainly be cut of likewise. I desired him to carry a Letter from vs; his Answer was that if he had moor then his own or Moggs Concerns, if taken they wold kill him and the rest of the Captiues; for he had nine [of the Captiues] ingaged for him; and further,

On the *twelfth of October* following, near an hundred of the Indians made an Assault upon *Black-point*, all the Inhabitants being gathered into *one fortified Place* upon that Point, which a few Hands might have defended against all the Indians on that *Side of the Country*. But as it seems, one called *Mugg* was the Leader of the Indians; one that had from a *Child* been well acquainted with the *English*, and had lived some Years in English Families, who though a *cunning Fellow*, and had prevailed much in his Attempts, yet at this Time shewed more Courtesy to the *English*, than according to former Outrages could be expected from any of those *barbarous Miscreants*; and was willing to make offer of a *Treaty* to Mr. *Josselin*, Chief of the Garrison, to whom the said *Mugg* promised Liberty for all that were there, to depart with their Goods upon the *Surrender of the Place*: The said *Josselin* Reports,

that he did convey Frances Littlefield and his Son from the Mill Garrison to said Littlefields House and within a Rod of the Indians; the said Littlefield having no Arms nor his Son that went with him. Likewise the said Gentle told me that was 140 Indians lying in the Gully between Frances Littlefields and the Mill Garrison, and that they would fight vs every Day in a Month but they would have vs: Further, said that he never saw more than 11 Indians together, and Mogg was one of the 11: And further said when he had his Liberty for 5 Days to go to Pascataqua to fetch his Ransom, and

Mr. Friers, he did not question but his Word would pass with them for a £100, and that there was in a Bag about 30 Weight of Powder at Black Point, which the Indians made said Gentle carry, and the Indians took the Powder away from him and hid it. I asked him how he knew there was 140 Indians in that Gully. He [the] said Gentle answered, by the Number of the Cannons." Richardson swore to all except the Bag of Powder. See Page [52].

This Henry *Horwood* is the Henry *Harwood* of Mr. Willis. Of Richardson he is silent, at least his Index is so.



that when he came back from his treating with *Mugg*, that all the People were fled away out of the *Garifon*, having carryed away their Goods by Water before his Return, infomuch that having none but his *Household Servants* to stand by him, he was capable to make no Resistance, and so *surrendered*.<sup>196</sup>

When People have once *been frighted* with Reports and Sense of Danger, they are ready to *fly away* like a *Hart* before the *Hunter* or his *Hounds*; one of the Inhabitants of the Place affirmed he saw *an hundred and fifty* Indians, which was more by *an hundred* than any Body else ever saw near the Fort.<sup>197</sup> But when a Place is *designed to Ruine*, every Thing they take in Hand shall tend that Way.

The Loss of *Black Point* was accompanied with another sad Accident, that *fell out* about the same Time at *Richmonds Island*. For young *Mr. Fryer*<sup>198</sup> with some others at *Pascataqua*, to whom it seemed greivous that the Indians should make *all that Spoyle* in every Place in those *farther Plantations*, ventured upon the great Importunity

<sup>196</sup> There is not much to be added concerning *Henry Jocelyn* to Mr. Willis's excellent Article in the *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Regr.*, Vol. XI, 31, &c., and the Article to which it is a Supplement in the same Work.

<sup>197</sup> This may refer to Harwood and Richardson's Report of Walter Gendall's Statement.

<sup>198</sup> A further and particular Account of Mr. Fryer and his Father will be found in succeeding Pages. It will be seen that Gendall was conveyed to his Destination by Mr. Fryer and Thomas Cobbet. Also that one *John Abbot* was of the Party, who made a wonderful and no less desperate Escape, as will be found in future Pages.

of *M. Ghendal*, with a *Ketch* to try what they could save of such Things that the Indians had left. But things were so ordered, that before they had *laden their Ketch*, coming too near the *Stage Head*, they presently found themselves in Danger of a *Surprizal*, for Part of their Company being a [47] Shore, were *seized* by the Indians, or in *Danger thereof*, whom they were not willing to leave behind; and besides the Wind blowing in hard upon them, they could not *get out of the Harbour*, but were forced to abide the Danger of an Assault. The Indians getting many of them into the *Stage Head*, annoyed them so fast with their *Shot*, that not a Man of them was able to look *above Deck*, but he was in Danger of being *shot down*; amongst the Rest *Mr. James Fryer* venturing too much *in View* of the Enemy, received a *Wound* in his *Knee*, which appeared not *dangerous* at the first, but for Want of *better looking too*, then could be found amongst that *black Regiment*, into whose Hands he soon after fell; *it proved mortal unto him*, within a few Days after; he being by a *strange Accident* brought Home to his *Fathers House* at the great Island in *Pascataqua*. *Mr. Fryer* being thus wounded, the Rest of the Company defended themselves for a while with much Courage and Resolution, till they were brought to the sad Choice of *falling into the Hands* of one of these three bad Masters, the Fire, the Water, or the *barbarous Heathen*, to whom at last they thought it best to yield, in

Hope of Liberty afterwards, at least of lengthing out their Lives a little longer, for the Indians had *manned* out a *Canoo* with several Hands to *cut their Cable*, and others stood ready within the Defence of the Stage Head to fire upon any one that stirred in the *Ketch*, by which Means the Vessel (after the Cable was cut) soon drove ashore; and then was it threatned to be presently burned, if they did not all yield, to which they all at last consented.

The Indians how barbarous soever in their own Nature, yet civilly intreated their Prisoners, and upon farther Discourse sent one or two of them to *Pascataqua*, to give them there an Opportunity to *Ransome* their Friends.<sup>199</sup> The Persons sent Home to procure a Ransome, were to return with such a Quantity of Goods as the Indians had desired, by such a precise Time: but they that brought the Things for their Ransome, coming a Day or two before the Time, when those that sent them were gone up the River at *Black Point*, and not returned. Some other Indians waiting for such an Opportunity *seized the Goods*, at least that Part which they most desired, and through Mistake killing one of the three Men that brought them, dismissed the other two, without Return of the Prisoners as was expected.

As to what hapned afterward, we are yet much in the Dark, and for the Present can write but

<sup>199</sup> This is explained to some Extent in Note 195. Mr. Gendall was allowed five Days to go to Pascataqua (Portsmouth) to obtain Goods for his own Ransom.

by gueſs; for within a few Days after the Return of *Mr. Ghendal*, and the other Man that went to carry the Ranſome, before *November firſt*, Mugg himſelf came to *Pascataqua* [48] bringing *Mr. James Fryer*, who ſoon after dyed of his Wound; one of the Priſoners along with him complaining that *without his Knowledge* ſome of the Indians had ſeized what was ſent for the *Ranſome* of the Reſt, promiſing upon *his Faith*, that he would make good his Word for the ſending Home all the Priſoners, and offered alſo in the Name of the other Indians, to confirm a *new Peace* with the *Engliſh* for the Future: The *Major General*<sup>200</sup> of the *Maſſachuſets Colony* was then at *Pascataqua*, but not willing to tranſact a Matter of that Nature and Moment by his *ſole Authority*, ordered the ſaid Mugg (ſuppoſed to be the *chief Leader* of the Indians) to be carryed down to *Boston* to the *Governour and Council there*, to conclude the Buſineſs, with whom he ſoon after agreed upon a *firm Peace* with the *Engliſh* of the *Maſſachuſets* in the Name of *Madockawando*, the Chief of all the Indians in the *Eastern Parts* about *Penobſcot* engaging alſo to remain himſelf, as *Hoſtage* aboard the *Veſſel* (in which he was ſent Home from *Boston November the twenty firſt following*) until the Priſoners (which are ſaid to be *fifty or ſixty* that they have ſtill in their Hands) be ſent Home, and the Reſt of the *Articles* performed.<sup>201</sup> The Iſſue of

<sup>200</sup> Daniel Deniſon of Ipſwich. are given at length in Pages [54-56,

<sup>291</sup> The Articles of the Treaty enſuing.



which we as yet wait to hear in Gods good Time: This 12<sup>th</sup> of *December* following, 1676. when they there have made an End of the Reckoning, 'tis hoped we may have our Right again.

There are two principal *Actors* among the Indians that have all along promoted these Designs amongst them, one named *Squando*, Sagamore of *Saco*, and the forementioned *Madocawando*, the chief Commander of the Indians *Eastward* about *Penobscot*, who are said to be, by them that know them, a *strange kinde* of *moralized Salvages*. *Grave and serious* in their Speech and Carriage, and not without some shew of a *Kind of Religion*, which no doubt but they have learned from the *Prince of Darknes*, (by the help of some *Papist* in those Parts) that can *transform himself into an Angel of Light*; under that Shape, the better to carry on the Designs of his Kingdome. It is said also, they pretend to have *received some Visions and Revelations*, by which they have been commanded to *Worship the great God*, and not to *Work on the Lords Day*. We know where that *Fountain* hath its Rise, that sendeth forth at the same Place *sweet and bitter Waters*, and from whence their Hearts are inspired, that joyn blessing of God, with cursing and killing his Servants.

It is reported by some that came lately from those Parts, that the Indians there do as yet refuse to have any Peace with the *English*, and will not as yet return any of our Captive Friends, till God speak to the foresaid *Entbusasts*, that are

*their Leaders* that they should *no longer* make *Warr with us*, and the like.

[49] But not to trouble ourselves farther with those *Ministers of Satan*, or those that are acted by the *Angels of the bottomless Pit*, (who possibly since their *Delusions* are but *two fold more* the *Children of Hell* than they *were before*) we know better how to understand the *Minde* of the *great God of Heaven and Earth* than to depend on such *lying Oracles*.

That God who hath at present *turned their Hearts to hate his People*, and *deal subtilly* with his *Servants*, we hope in his *Time*, will either *turn the Stream*, and cause them to deal *friendly and sincerely* with his *People* as *heretofore*, or give us an *Opportunity to destroy them*.

In the next Place it remains, that some Account be given of *our Forces* under Captain *Hatborne*, and of their *several Expeditions* into the *Eastern Parts*, since the middle of *September last*; first, up towards *Casco*, by the *Sea-side*, then afterward *through the Woods* directly *Northward* toward *Ossapy*, and *Pigwauchet*, in Hope to have found the *Enemy* there at their *Head Quarters*.

Upon the first Report of those *Devastations* and *Spoils* that had been made by *Fire and Sword* in those *Eastern Plantations*, it was judged necessary to send some *Forces* that Way to put a *Stop* unto the *Current* of those *Outrages*, before the *Remainders* of the *Southern Indians* could have *Opportunity* to joyn with them: To that End about an

*hundred and thirty English, with forty Indians* were dispatched away into those Parts, under the Command of *Captain William Hathorne, Captain Sil,* and *Captain Hunting,* who were to joine with such as could be raised in those Parts, under *Major Waldern,* and *Captain Frost;* After they had surprized the Indians that flocked into those Parts, (as was related before)<sup>202</sup> which was done upon *September the 6th, 1676.* *Captain Hathorne* who was *Commander in Chief,* marched the Forces by the *Sea-side* towards *Casco;* For at that Time they were upon some demurre, whether to march directly towards *Ossapy,* and *Pigwauchet,* where the *Head Quarters* of the Enemy was supposed to be, or else to march directly towards *Casco Bay,* where they heard Parties of the Enemy were daily *spoyling the Plantations* of the English. At the last it was judged *most Expedient,* to try if they could not meet with some Parties of the Enemy amongst those *Plantations* near the *Sea-side,* by that Means at last to prevent them from doing any more Mischief if they could not finde an Opportunity to *fall upon* some of them, and *destroy them;* But their Time was not yet come, nor were all the *Desolations* as yet *accomplished,* which God had a Purpose to *bring about* by their Means. For notwithstanding there was a *sufficient Force* to have suppressed all the Numbers of the Enemy, if they had been many more [50] then they were; yet being *emboldened* and *grown subtile* by their

<sup>202</sup> See Page [38, *ante*, and Note 163.

*former Successes*, they had so dispersed themselves all about the Woods in those Parts, that when our Forces were in one Place, they would be in another; and so did much Mischief thereabouts, while our Soldiers were *out after them*: For after they had by several Steps in *ten Days* Time gotten to *Casco*, from *Newehewannick* (about the *eighth of September*) they marched to *Wells*, and from *Wells* to *Winter Harbour*, and so from thence to *Black Point* they passed by Water, and then arrived at *Casco Bay*, about the *twentieth of September*, yet about that very Time, were several of the English cut off at *Mount-joyes Island*, and that in *Sight of our Forces*, when they were not able to come at them for want of *Boats*, the *Island* lying two *Leagues* off in the *Bay*; (this hapned the *twenty third* of the same Month, as was said before), and within *two Days* after another Party of the Enemy were doing Mischief at *Wells*, and *Cape Nidduck* and yet escaped away when they had done.

Nor could *our Forces* in all *their Expedition* meet with any of them, but *two*; one of which, soon after he was taken, was let go, by the *Treachery* or *Carelessness* of them that held him. For when our Forces were come within a *few Miles* of the higher Side of *Casco Bay*, some of our *Natick Indian Scouts* going in Company with the Indians under *Blind Will*,<sup>203</sup> (a *Sagamore* of *Pascataqua*, who went in Company with eight of his Men,

<sup>203</sup> He was the next Year killed *Indians*, 322. See also Hubbard's by the Mohawks. See *Book of the History of New England*, Page 630.



supposed to be *good Pilots* for the Places more *Eastward*) met with some of the Enemy, and laid hold of *a couple* of them. Justice was done upon *one of them*, the other, although he was led by two of *Blind Wills Indians*, they made a Shift to *let go*, who escaping away, got over a River, and gave Notice to the Indians who were on the other Side, and were heard but a little before *threshing in a Barn* that belonged to one *Anthony Bracket*, (whom they had lately surprized.) Another Disappointment our Forces met withal about the same Time, for when *Captain Hathorn* was up at *Casco Bay* with his Souldiers, he never could come up with the Indians, either through want of Skill in them that were his *Scouts*, or rather want of Faithfulness in one that *should have been his Guide*, who had got his living by *Trading with the Indians*, therefore seemed unwilling to have the *Brood of them* destroyed as was known afterwards, and by that Means *a Party* of the Enemy escaped the Hands of *our Soldiers*: Yet it pleased God at one Time to bring the *Forlorne of our Forces* upon a Party of the Enemy, who espying the *English*, presently *fled away* into the Woods, like so many *wild Deer*; yet one of them, *viz.* that *J. Sampson*<sup>204</sup> who had been of the Company, that killed *Robinson*<sup>205</sup> the Year before, was by the [51] *special Hand of Divine Justice*, suffered to fall, by some of *our Forces*: He was a *very lusty, stout Man*, and one that was armed with *several*

<sup>204</sup> John Sampson, the same Indian mentioned before, Pages [111,

<sup>205</sup> John Robinson of Exeter. See Note 135, *ante*.

*sorts of Weapons*, but there is no *Weapon* shall defend them, whom Death hath a *Commission* to destroy: There is no *Ransome in that War*: The Rest of the Indians that were scattered about *Casco Bay*, having discovered our Forces, made their Escape: But, we hope their Time is short, and that God will find some Way to cut off the *bloody and deceitful Enemies* of his People, and not suffer them to *live out half their Days*.

But by one such Accident or other, *our Soldiers* could not meet with any of them that had done all the Mischief about those Parts. And while our Forces lay about *Casco Bay*, a small Party of the Enemy came down upon the Borders of the Town of *Wells*, where they lay in *Ambush* near a Garrison House, at one End of the Town, and shot down Mr. *James Gouge*<sup>206</sup> from his Horse, *September the twenty fourth*, being *Lords Day*, as he was going Home from the *Meeting*; and then *knocked down his Wife*, giving her several Wounds with their Hatchets about the Head, of which she dyed within three Days after.

The next Day *September the twenty fifth*, the same Party, being not above *seven* in Number, went toward *York* and surprized *Cape Nidduck* in a barbarous Manner, killing most of the poor People belonging thereunto: Some of their

<sup>206</sup> Mr. Savage is not willing to allow the Legitimacy of this Name, as a New England Surname, and hence gives it no separate Article in his Dictionary; but it is a good old English Name notwithstanding.

Neighbours hearing of the Guns, came to *their Rescue*: The Indians being on the further Side of the River, dared them to come over and *fight with them Man to Man*: using several reproachful Terms to them, making a Shot at them also, which some of the Company not being able to bear, did very *resolutely adventure* through the River after them; but they were not willing to *try the Valour* of the *English*; when they perceived they *found a Way* to pass over the River upon them, but returned back towards *Wells*; where they killed another, one *George Farrow*<sup>207</sup> *September the twenty seventh*, as he was too carelessly venturing to his House without any Company: These Things hapned while our Forces were at *Casco*, where they tarried seven or eight Days. And hearing of these Outrages committed in some of those Places which they left behind them, and not being able to meet with any of them in the Place where they were, they returned back towards *Wells* and *York*; but the Indians were escaped away into the Woods after their Companions before they came there: Our Soldiers having thus spent much Time and Pains in a fruitless Expedition toward *Casco*, they resolved to venture *another March* after them, up towards *Offapy*, supposing they might by that Time be drawn

<sup>207</sup> The Author of the *Farrar* Genealogy, in Vol. vi, *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Regr.*, fails to connect very distinctly this Martyr of

the Wilderness with his Family. He is supposed to have been a Son of George Farrow of Ipswich. The Family is probably distinct from *Farrar*.

homewards toward [52] their *Winter Quarters*; or else, that they might destroy what they had left behind them, to *prevent their harbouring there* for the Future: But it seemed good to him, who by his Sovereign Power and Infinite Wisdom ordereth all Events and Purposes (wherein his People or others are concerned) to *disappoint all Endeavours* used at that Time for the suppressing of the Enemy, or putting any stop to their wonted Successes: For soon after our Forces were returned back from *Casco*, News was brought of the *Surprizal of Black Point*, on the *twelfth of October*, as was mentioned before;<sup>208</sup> which notwithstanding, it was judged more adviseable to venture and proceed on with the Expedition toward *Ossapy* (whether it was supposed by this Time, the greatest Number of them were retired) rather than to return back again to recover *Black Point*, where was nothing to be expected but an empty Fort, and some deserted Houses, which it seems the Indians had forsaken by that Time.

And besides that other Forces were about the same Time ordered to *repair* thither, sufficient for the repairing and securing of the Place, with what else was left remaining from the Hands of

<sup>208</sup> See Page [46, *ante*. Before the News of the Fall of Black Point could have reached Boston, namely, Oct. 13th, the Governor and Council issued an Order to Maj. Gookin, "forthwith to impress and send away 16 able Indians to Maj. Wal-

dron, by him to be ordered under meete Conduct, as Scouts to scour the Woods betweene Kittery, Yorke and Wells, to pursue and destroy the Enemy, what in them lyes." *Mass. Archives*. These Indians did good Service.



the *Enemy*; And likewise several Souldiers were ordered to Garrison the Towns thereabouts, to prevent them from making any further Assault upon them. However, they were so far emboldened by the taking of *Black-point*, and the *Ketch* at *Richmond Island*,<sup>209</sup> with several Prisoners also, which were surprized at the same Time, that a Party of them came the very next Week after, toward *Wells*, hoping to attain that, and all the Towns, and Places else betwixt *Casco Bay* and *Pascataqua*, as they had done *Black-point*. For a Party of them under *Mugg* their *chief Leader*, brought Mr. *Ghendal* along with them to *Wells*, where they *summoned* the first *Garrison* as [at] the Towns End. To facilitate the Business, they sent the said *Ghendal* as their *Agent*, or Messenger to move them to *surrender*, without hazarding an Onset; but the People were not so despondent, to yield up the Place upon so slight an Occasion; which when the *Enemy* discerned, they soon drew off, after they had done some little Mischief to the Inhabitants: For first they killed *Isaack Littlefield*, not far from the Garrison, it is said, they would willingly have had him *yield himself Prisoner*, but he refusing they shot him down, yet they were so civil, as to suffer his Friends to *fetch away his Body*, without offering any further Act of Inhumanity to it, or *Hostility* toward them that *fetcht it off*. An *old Man* called *Crofs*,<sup>210</sup> was

<sup>209</sup> The *Ketch* of Mr. James Fryer, the Capture of which is mentioned Page [46, *ante*, and [57, forward.

<sup>210</sup> The "Ancient Man and one about 16," as mentioned in Note 197, *ante*. *Crofs* may have been a

killed by them likewise about the same Time, and another, *Joseph Bigford*<sup>211</sup> by Name, belonging to the Garrison, was sorely wounded at that Time, so as he dyed soon after. Thirteen Head of *Neat Cattel* were also killed by them, out of which they only for Haste, took the *Tongues*, leaving the Bodies of all the *Rest* [53] *whole* to the *Owners*, unless it were *the Leg* of one of them, which was also taken away.

This was all the Mischief [that] was done by them, after the taking of *Black-Point*: The Inhabitants of *Winter Harbour*, near adjoining thereto, being alarmed with the surprisal of the other Place, fled away with *their Goods*, for a Time, till they heard the Enemies were removed farther *Eastward*, and then it was said, they returned to their Place again; In this Posture have Things in those Places remained ever since, in those *Eastern Plantations* betwixt *Pascataqua* and *Casco Bay*.

But our Forces under the Command of *Captain Hathorn*, and *Captain Syl*, having at the last obtained all things necessary for a *Winter March* into the Woods, did upon the *first of November*

Son of John Cross, named Joseph. If so both Father and Son fell by Savage Hands. See Note 159, *ante*.

<sup>211</sup> Now, and for more than a Century written *Bickford*, and yet Dr. Savage recognizes only *Beckford*, while none of the Family write it thus. We have known probably not less than twenty Families—all

*Bickfords*, and all unquestionably of the same Paternity of *Joseph Bickford*. Indeed the Name *Joseph* is a prevailing one in Families to the present Time. The Name *Bickford* is extensively borne in New England, especially in New Hampshire, where it is first found, and whence it has spread into other States.

following, set forth towards *Ossapy*, where, after *four Days March* of very *difficult Way*, over many Rivers not easy to pass at that Time of the Year, they arrived; but found *never an Indian*, either there, or in the Way, as they marched along: The Indians belonging to those Parts, had not many Years before hired some *English Trades* to build them a *Fort* for their Security against the *Mobawks*, which was built *very strong* for that Purpose *fourteen Foot* high with *Flankers* at each Corner. But at this Time the Souldiers *intending to disappoint them of their Refuge*, made *Fuel thereof*, which at that Time was very *needful for our People*, who had marched many Miles *throughout deep Snow* in a very *cold Season*, when they could hardly keep themselves from *freezing* as they passed along so early in the *Winter*: None of the Enemy being to be found there in their *strongest Fort*, it was not counted worth the while for all the Company to *march any farther*: Wherefore a small Party being sent up *eighteen or twenty Miles* farther *Northward* among the Woods, where as they passed along they met with many *vast Lakes*,<sup>212</sup> (supposed to be the Cause of the *Sharpness of the Cold*, in that Side of the Country) making the Place *scarce habitable* for any besides those *Salvages* that use to *hunt thereabouts*, for *Moose* in the *Winter*, and *Beaver* in the *Summer*,

<sup>212</sup> It is not easy to determine what Lakes they went to. There are certainly no *vast* ones within 18 or 20 Miles to the North of *Ossapy*; nor are there any *vast Lakes* till we reach *Umbagog* and *Moosehead*, and these are some 65 Miles distant.

(a Sort of Creatures, whose Skins are of more account than all their Bodies.) But at this Time it is supposed they were all gone lower toward the Sea Side, *to share the Spoils* of the English Plantations, lately surprized by them; which is all the Reward they have met withal, who in former Years, for the Sake of a little Lucre by Traffick with them, have run themselves there into the very *Jaws of Destruction*, either by irregular Dealing with them, or by their too much Confidence in their deceitful Friendship.

*November the ninth*, our Forces having spent *nine Days* in this Service, returned safe to *New-chewannick*, from whence they set forth at the first, [54] having run more *hazard of their Limbs*, by the *Sharpness of the Frost*, than of *their Lives* by an *Affault* from their Enemies.

There was great Probability that the Designe might have had some good Effect, if *Mugg*, a *chief Leader* of them, did not much abuse those he fled unto, with a *proffer of Peace*; for he told them that there were about an hundred of them about *Offapy*, not many Days before: But it becomes us to look beyond *second Causes*, in Events of this Nature; and conclude, that *God had raised up* these barbarous Enemies to bring *alike Chastisement* upon the English in this *Side of the Country*, with that which others had endured elsewhere, in the End of the former, and Beginning of this present Year.

Whereas mention was formerly made<sup>213</sup> of a

<sup>213</sup> See Page [48, *ante*.



*Peace concluded at Boston betwixt the Governour and Council of the Massachusetts, and Mugg an Eastward Indian, in the Name of Madockawando, chief Sagamore of all the Indians about Pemaquid and Penobscot, which said Mugg was sent from Boston, November the 21<sup>st</sup>, with two Vessels, to receive the Prisoners there detained by the Indians, and also to see the Ratification of the several Articles of the said Peace concluded upon. Which Articles for the better Satisfaction of those that have not been acquainted withem, are thought fit here to be inserted.*<sup>214</sup>

Boston, November the 6th. 1676.

*Covenants and Agreements made and concluded by and between the Governour and Council of the Massachusetts Colony in New-England of the one Part, and Mugg Indian, in the Name and behalf of Madockawando, and Chebartina*<sup>215</sup>*Sachems of Penobscot, on the other Part. Witnesseth:*

*Impr.* Whereas the said Mugg hath been sent

<sup>214</sup> Mugg seems to have been an able Diplomatist, and to have been treated with due Consideration, as an Enemy having Wrongs to be redressed as well as the English themselves; in other Words, and in the Language of the present Day there were accorded to him the Rights of an independent Belligerent. He therefore demanded and received Letters of safe Conduct to Boston from Governor Leverett, dated Oct.

19th, 1676. Mugg had previously written to the Governor, styling himself General. This Letter was conveyed to Pascataqua by Mr. Gendall. From Pascataqua Mugg passed by Land to Boston, visiting the Rev. Mr. Thomas at Ipswich, and probably the Author also.

<sup>215</sup> In the first Edition this Name is *Cheberrina*, and Sullivan has it *Churribina*. In some other Documents it is written *Cherubina*.

and imployed by the said *Sachems* upon a *Treaty* with the said Governour and Council relating to a Conclusion of Peace, doth hereby Covenant and engage for himself and in behalf of the said *Sachemo*, that from henceforth they will cease all *Acts of Hostility*, and hold an entire and firm Union, and Peace with all the *English* of the *Colonies* in *New-England*.

2ly. That immediately upon the said *Muggs Return*, the said *Sachems* shall deliver up unto such *English Man*, or *Men*, as shall by Order [55] of the said Governour and Council, be sent with him, all such *English Captives*, *Vessels*, and *Goods* whatsoever, *Arms* and great *Artillery* belonging to the *English*, as are in their *Custody*, or under their *Power*, as have been taken from them during the Time of the late Hostility.

3ly. That they will use their uttermost Endeavour with all possible Speed to procure pay, wherewith to make full Satisfaction unto the *English* for all such *Injuries*, *Losses*, and *Damages*, as they have sustained by them, in their *Housing*, *Cattle*, or other *Estate*, during the Time of the late Hostility; or else to pay such a Number of *Beaver Skins*, yearly, in order thereunto, as shall be agreed on between the said *Sachems*, and such Person or Persons as shall be sent unto them from the said Governour and Council for the *Ratification* hereof, to be paid at such Time and Place as shall be then agreed upon.

4ly. That upon Consideration of the *English*

furnishing of them with *Powder* and *Amunition* for their *necessary Supplies* and *Maintenance*, they do *Covenant* and *Promise* not to Trade for or buy any *Powder*, or *Amunition*, but of such Persons as shall from Time to Time be *deputed* by the *Governour* for that End.

5ly. That if it do appear that *Walter Gendal* and the Men sent with him in the *Vessel* from *Pascataqua* (with Goods from *Mr. Fryer* for the *Redemption of the Captives* according to Agreement) or any of them are surprized and slain by any of their *Indians*, or any others whom they can bring under their Power, that they shall forthwith execute such *Murtherer*, or *Murtherers*, or otherwise deliver them up into the Hands of the English.

6ly. That if the *Amonos Coggin*, or any other Indians in the *Eastern Parts*, that are in *Hostility* with the English, shall not fully consent unto these *Covenants* and *Agreements*, but shall persist in *Acts of Hostility* against the English, that then the said *Sachems* shall, and will hold all such Indians to be their Enemies, and take up *Arms* against them, and engage them as such.

[56] *Lastly*. The said *Mugg* as a *Pledge* and *Assurance* of his own *Fidelity*, and that he is *impowered* by the said *Sachems* for the End aforesaid, and for the Performance of the *aforementioned Agreements*, doth *freely* and *willingly depofite himself*, and his *Life* in the Hands of the English;

to remain with them as a *Hostage* until the *said Captives, Goods* and *Vessels* shall be delivered up.

*Boston, Novemb. 13. 1676.*      The Mark of  
Signed in the Prefence of      Mugg W Indian.

*John Earthy*

*Richard Oliver.*<sup>216</sup>

*Isaack Addington.*

The *said Mugg* lifting up his Hand to *Heaven* for the tru *Performance* thereof, esteemed among them, a *strong Obligation* to performe what they promise.

Things were so ordered by the good *Providence of God*, that the *said Vessels*<sup>217</sup> arrived safely at *Penobscot* in the Beginning of the next Month, where they found the *said Madockawando*, who was ready to confirm and make good the *Articles of the Peace* concluded at *Boston* by his *Agent* in his Name; and was willing also to deliver all the *Prisoners* that were then in *his Power*, or under his *Command*, which were but *two*, who were taken in the *Vessel* at *Richmonds Island*, the *twelfth of October* last. The *said Mugg* likewise being sensible of the *Obligation* he lay under, to make good his *Word*, did *venture to go up* himself to another *Plantation* of the *Indians*, where was supposed some more of the *English Prisoners* were, to see whether he could obtain *their Release*,

<sup>216</sup> This *Oliver* does not find a Place in the Pedigree of the *Massachusetts Family*. He is once mentioned before. See Page 152, *ante*.

<sup>217</sup> Mentioned Page [54, preceding. One of the *Vessels* was commanded by Capt. Moore; perhaps Capt. Richard Moore of Salem.



as also to *perswade with the Rest* of the Indians thereabouts to joyn in the *Confirmation of the Peace*. It appeared to the Persons belonging to the Vessels, that the said *Mugg* went with some *Reluctancy*, as fearing the Indians he was going amongst, would either *kill him*, or keep him Prisoner; to which End, he ordered the *Commanders* belonging to the *Vessels* to tarry for him about *three Days*, or *four at the most*, assuring them that if he did not return by that Time, they might *certainly conclude* that either his *Life or Liberty* was taken from him; however the Vessels tarried *about or near a Week* beyond the Time limited, in Expecta[57]tion of his coming; but after *so long stay*, they neither seeing, nor hearing from him, were ready to *fear the worst*, viz. that his Country Men had *made him sure* from having more to do with the *English*. Whereupon for Fear of being *shut up* by the *Sharpness* of the *Winter* from returning themselves, they took the Opportunity of the next *fair Wind* of setting sayle for *Boston*, (only turning into *Pemmaquid* to see if they could hear any *further News* there) where they arrived with *such Prisoners*, as were freely delivered by *Madockawando*, the *twenty fifth of December following*, Anno, 1676. Amongst which Prisoners, besides the two forementioned, who were found at *Penobscot*, there was a third, by a more *remarkable Providence* then ordinary, added unto them, *Mr. Thomas Cobbet*, Son of that *Reverend* and *worthy Minister* of the *Gospel*, *Mr. Tho-*

*mas Cobbet*, (*Pastor* of the Church at *Ipswitch*, a Town within the *Massachusetts Jurisdiction*) who had all the Time of his *Sons Captivity*, together with his Friends, *wrestled with God* in their daily *Prayers* for his *Release*, and accordingly he was with the more *Joy received* by his Friends, as an Answer and Return of their *Prayers*. The said young Man had lived with *Mr. Fryer, Merchant of Portsmouth* for some Years before, and had been oft at Sea with *Mr. James Fryer* the eldest Son of the said *Merchant*, and who had after much Experience of *his Faithfulness, Dexterity, and Courage* on all such Accompts, borne him so much Respect, that when he was urged by his Father to go along with *Mr. Ghendal*, as was said before, he would not venture unless his Friend *Thomas Cobbet* would go along with him; *the which Service* he only for his Friends sake accepted, which proved a *fatal Adventure* to *Mr. James Fryer*, and might have done to the other also, had not God otherwise *disposed of him*, having, as is hoped, *more Service* for him in the *Land of the Living*. Amongst all the Prisoners at that Time taken, the sad *Thomas Cobbet* seemed to have had the *hardest Portion*: For besides the *desperate Dangers* that he escaped, before he was taken, *First*, by a *Bullet*, shot through his *Waistcoat*, *Secondly*, by a *drunken Indian*, who had a *Knife* at his *Throat* to cut it, when his *Hands* were bound: When the Indians came to *share the Prisoners* amongst them, he fell into the Hands

of one of the *ruggeddest Fellows*, by whom within a few Days after *his Surprizal*, he was carryed first from *Black-point*, to *Shipscot River* in the *Ketch*, which the Indians made them to sayl for them, into the *said River*, from thence he was forced to travel with his *Pateroon* four or five Miles overland to *Damaniscottee*, where he was compelled to row, or paddle in a *Canoo* about fifty five Miles farther to *Penobscot*, and there taking leave of all his English Friends and [58] Acquaintance at least for the *Winter*. he was put to paddle a *Canoo* up fifty or sixty Miles farther Eastward, to an *Island* called *Mount Desart*, where his *Peteroon* used to keep his *Winter Station*, and to appoint his *hunting Voyages*; and in that *Desart-like* Condition was the poor young Man forced to continue nine Weeks in the Service of a *Salvage Mifcreant*, who sometimes would *tyranize* over him, because he could not understand *his Language*, and for Want thereof, might occasion him to *miss of his Game*, or the like. Whatever Sicknefs he was obnoxious unto, by *Change of Dyet*, or other Account, he could expect no other Allowaunce than the *Wigwam* will afford. If *Joseph* be in the Prison, so long as *God is with him* there, he shall be preserved, and in due Time remembered.

After the End of the *nine Weeks*, the Indian whom he was to serve, had spent all his Powder, whereupon on the sudden he took up a *Resolution* to send his young Man down to *Penobscot* to

*Mounfier* *Casteen*<sup>218</sup> to procure more *Powder* to kill *Moose and Dear*, which it seems is all their Way of Living at *Mount Desart*. The Indian was certainly over ruled by *Divine Providence* in sending *his Captive* down thither; for a few Days before, as it seems, after the Indians in that Place had been *Powawing together*, he told him, that there were *two English Vessels* then come into *Pemmaquid*, or *Penobscot*, which proved so indeed: yet was it *not minded* by him surely, when he sent *his Captive* thither for *Powder*, for it proved the Means of *his Escape*, which his *Pateroon* might easily have *conjectured*, if it had not been hid from him. As soon as he arrived at *Penobscot*, he met with *Mugg*, who presently saluted him by the Name of *Mr. Cobbet*, and taking him by the Hand told him, he had been at his *Fathers House*, (which was *November the first or second* before, as he passed through *Ipswitch* to *Boston*) and had promised to send him Home, so soon as he returned. *Madockawando* taking Notice of what *Mugg* was speaking that Way, although he were willing that he should be released according to Agreement, (his *Pateroon* being one of this *Sagamores Subjects*, though during the *Hunting Voyage*

<sup>218</sup> In *Memoires de l'Amerique*, his Name is given *le Baron De St. Castiens*, where it is said he was a Gentleman of *Oleron* in *Bearn*. From the same Work an Account of him is translated and printed in the *Book of the Indians*, 293. *Charlevoix* has the Name *Castin*.

See *Histoire Gen. de la Nouvelle France*, ii, 178. He had an Estate in France, to which he retired after 1707. The Town of *Castine* on the east Bank of the *Penobscot*, is the Site of his Residence, and was named from him. It was broken up by the English in 1688.



of the *Winter*, he lived at such a Distance from him) began to demand something for *Satisfaction*, in a Way of *Ransome*, not understanding before that his Father was a great *Preachman*, as they use to call it: Reply was made to him, that he should have something in lieu of *Ransome*, viz. a fine Coat, which they had for him aboard the *Vessel*; the which the *Sagamore* desired to see, before he would absolutely grant his Release: But upon sight of the said Coat, he seemed very well satisfied, and gave him free Liberty to return Home. Whilst this Mr. *Thomas Cobbet* was a [59] Prisoner at *Mount Defart*, going along with the Indians to hunt, in an extream cold Day, he was so overcome with the Sharpness thereof, that all his Senses were suddenly benumbed, so as he fell down upon the Snow, not being able to stir Hand or Foot, and had without doubt there perished in a little Time, but that the Indians he was going along with, missing him, presently ran about the Woods to seek him, and when they found him, they were either so pitiful to him, or so careful of their own good, as not to cast away a likely young Man, from whom they expected either much Service, or a good Ransome, for Want of a little Care, and Pains to preserve his Life; wherefore taking him upon their Shoulders, they carried him into the next Wigwam, so as he soon after revived, and came to himself again, without any farther Mischief.

At another Time the *Salvage Villain* whose

Prisoner he was, so long as he had *strong Liquor*, for *five Days together* was *so drunk*, that he was like a *furious mad Beast*, so as none durst come near him; his *Squaws* he almost *brained* in one of those *drunken Fits*.

The said *Thomas* was forced to get out of his Sight into the *Woods* all that Night, for Fear of being mischiefed by him; where making a Fire he kept himself alive: The *Squaws* being by Gods special Providence so *inclined to Pity*, that they came to him daily with *Vi&ctuals*, by which Means he was at that Time also preserved. All which put together, makes his Deliverance *the more remarkable, as an Answer of Prayer*.<sup>219</sup>

As for the *Rest of the Prisoners*, (which are said to be *fifty or sixty*) they were left with them who first *surprized them* at *Kennibek*, and *Shipscot River*: The *Women* are imployed it seems to *sow and make Garments* for them; they having *pluundered* much *English Goods* at *Arowsick*. They are so much *elevated* with their *late Successes*, in spoyling so many of the *English Habitations*, that they seem not *very ready to hearken to Terms of Peace*, as their *Sagamore Madockawando* doth Desire: Nor are the *English* able to come near them with any of their Forces *this Winter Season*, in regard both of the *Remoteness of the Place*, and *Sharpness of the Cold*, which uses to be *extream in*

<sup>219</sup> As a Supplement or Sequel to the Story of Mr. Cobbet, the Reader is referred to a Narrative by his Father, published for the first time, by the Editor, in the *New England Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vii. 216-17.

those Parts. How their Hearts may be inclined in the following Year, or what the *English* may be enabled to do *against* them, is known unto God only, on whom we desire to wait for a comfortable Issue of these our Troubles. But until they have spent all the Plunder that is taken, it is no doubt but they will seem averse from having Peace, as others to the Westward did, whose Hearts were hardened against all Proffers of that Nature, till they were destroyed. Possibly some Remnants of them that escaped in those other Parts, are got hither amongst these, and do animate them all they can in [60] Hostility against us, till they make these as miserable as themselves, and so forced at the last to fly their Country. Many have been the Troubles we have met withal from these our Barbarous Neighbours round about us, but God we trust will deliver us out of them all, as he hath promised to do for the Righteous, who may in the darkest Night of Affliction say, Light is sown for them, which shall spring up in the appointed Time thereof.

No farther News came to hand concerning the *English* Prisoners at Kennibek, after the Return of Captain Moor from Penobscot, till the fifth of January. When one Francis Card with another young Man formerly an Inhabitant of some Place about Kennibek, or of Arowsick, (but then a Prisoner with the Indians) made an Escape from the Indians, and so got over Casco Bay, and then to Black Point, from thence he was con-

veighed to *Pascataqua* soon after, and then to Boston.

The Manner of *his Escape*, as he reports was this: He was employed by the Indians to *thresh Corn* at a *Barn* a little lower in *the River* than the Place where the Indians *commonly kept*; being trusted *alone* to *go* and *come* of *himself*, because there was no *Suspicion* of any coming to carry him away, or *seeming possibility* to get away without being *discovered*, he found Means to plot with another *young Man*, who was sent to *look Horses*, whose *Flesh*, it seems, is, by those *wild Salvages*, preferred before the *best Beef*; so as having their *Choice of both*, they took what they *liked best*: And this being the *Employment* of the *young Man*, he had the fitter Opportunity when he was in *the Woods* to make any *Contrivance* to get away. Thus being resolved upon their *Design*, they *provided Necessaries accordingly*, and sent such a Messenger Home to *their Masters*, as might Occasion them not to expect them very soon that Night: Thus resolved, they *marched away*, as soon as ever they perceived the *Coast was clear*; and having provided a *Canoo* accordingly, fit for the *Design*, by the help of it they got over the Waters, by which they were to pass, which were *not frozen*; and in the *Night-time* turned into a *Swampe*, where they might *make a Fire* to keep them from *starving with the Cold*, without being discerned; so as within *two or three Days* they recovered the *Fort*, and *Garrison* at *Black point*,



from whence they were soon convieghed to *Boston*.

This *Francis Card* made this Relation of Matters when he came to *Boston*, viz. that the Prisoners which he left behind *were well*, and not much *misused*, only put to do the *servile Work* about the Indians: Wo must it needs be with *Christians*, when put not only to *sojourn*, but to serve in those *Tents of Kedar*. Such of the *Women* as were *gifted* at [61] *knitting* and *sewing*, were improved to make *Stockings* and *Garments* for their *Pateroons*: So as it seems the *Ware House* at *Arowsick* furnished them with *Cloth*, *Stuff*, and *Linnen*, and the *Inhabitants* served for *Artificers* to cut it out, and make it up. He reported also that the Indians *spake nothing of any Peace*, but rather being *heightened* with their *late and great Successes*, were *contriving* how to get *Possession* of the *other Places* in the *Hands* of the *English*, on that *Side* of the *Country*, which *God forbid* should ever come to *pass*; but finding so *easy Work* of their *former Exploits*, they hope they shall *accomplish their Purposes* with the like *Facility* in all other *Places* where they come.

It seems *Squando* is their *chief Leader*, that *enthusiastical*, or rather *diabolical Miscreant*, who yet hath put on a *Garbe of Religion*, and orders his *People* to do the like; performing *religious Worship* amongst the *Indians*, in *his Way*, yet is supposed to have very *familiar Converse with the Devil*, that appears to him as an *Angel of Light*, in some *Shape* or other very frequently.

This *Francis Card* also affirmeth, that there is nothing so great a *Number of the Indians* as is here reported; for he saith, when they were going out upon *some Designe*, while he was in their Hands, he had Opportunity to *count them all*, and could find but *ninety eight* of them, that were Men:<sup>220</sup> Neither could he discern that there were any of the *Western Indians*, unless *Simon and Andrew*, that formerly escaped out of *Dover Prison*: Although it was before apprehended there were *Multitudes of them flocked together*.

*Francis Card his Declaration of their Beginning, August the fourteenth.*<sup>221</sup>

The Indians came to *Richard Hammonds*, and there killed *Richard Hammond, Samuel Smith, Joshuab Grant*, there parting *their Company*; *eleven Men* came up *Kennibeck River* to my House, and there *took me and my Family*. Therefore the Rest of their Company went to *Arowsick*,<sup>222</sup> and there took the *Garrison*: About a *Fortnight* after came down *Kennibeck River*, and so went down to *Damaris Cove*, and there *burnt Houses*, and *killed Cattle*, there coming back *parted their Company*, one Party went to *Jewels Island*, and the other Party went to *Saga-de-Hock*, being in Number

<sup>220</sup> Whenever there is found any reliable Evidence as to the actual Numbers of the Indians, in any given Time and Place, it always makes them far below the Statements generally circulated at the Time.

<sup>221</sup> There is a Copy (perhaps the Original) of Card's *Declaration*, in the *Mass. Archives*, Vol. 69. It differs slightly from this

<sup>222</sup> Spelt *Wousok* in Card's Manuscript.

*eighty one.* Those that went to *Saga-de-Hock* took a *Shallop*, from thence came to *Kennibek River*, and then went to *killing and destroying of Cattel and Houfing*, for they had Intelligence of a *Ketch* and a *Shallop* at *Damaris Cove*, and going there they took the *Shallop*, and killed two Men, being in Number about *eighty*. The next Day made [62] up their *Forces*, went out to *Black-point*, being about one hundred *fighting Men*, and are now in two *Forts* about *sixty* at a Place, with *six or eight Wigwams* between the two *Forts*.

Now the best Place to land Men is in *Casco Bay*, and in *Kennibek River*; the one Place being *eight Miles*, the other about *fourteen Miles* from the *Fort* where I was kept: And if the *Army* do not go now with Speed, they will be gone *forty Miles* farther up in the Country. At the first taking of me they carryed me up to *Taconet*, and the Men coming down they brought me and two Men more down for Fear of our killing their Women and Children; for they kept their *Women and Children at Taconet* all the *Summer*. As soon as the *warm Weather* doth set in, they do intend to go away to *Taconet*, and there to build two *Forts*; for there is their *fishing Places*, and *planting Ground*. *Squanto* doth inform them that God doth speak to him, and doth tell him that God hath left our *Nation* to them to *destroy*, and the Indians do take it for a Truth all that he doth tell them; because they have met with no *Affront*. Now *Mugg the Rogue*, he being come again to the *Fort*, he doth make his *Braggs* and *laughs* at the

*English*, and saith that he hath found the Way to burn *Boston*,<sup>223</sup> and doth make *Laughter* at your kinde *Entertainment*. They make their Brags, now they do intend to *take Vessels*, and so to go to all the *fishing Islands*; and so to drive all the Country before them, so reckoning to be a great Number in the Spring. There is a great many Indians at *Cannada* that have not been out this Summer, both of *Kennibeck* and *Damarascoggin*, therefore a great many of these Indians at *Kennibeck* do intend to go to *Canada* in the Spring to them. And they do give Gifts both of *Captives* and of Goods to the *Eastern Indians*, to have them to go out with them; but as yet I do not know what they will do. For *Madockawando* and *Squando* are of several Judgments, and so have parted, and *Madockawando* doth pretend Love to the English, they do use our English Captives as civilly as we can expect by such a People. That this is Truth is declared by me *Francis Card*,<sup>224</sup> *Jan. the 22. 1676.*

<sup>223</sup> This kind of Gasconade is not peculiar to *Indians*, although it may be to *Savages*; as the Progress of our gigantic Rebellion, from Beginning to End, has shown; two notable Instances will be remembered: the Threat "to unfurl the Flag of Treason on Faneuil Hall;" and "to call the Roll of the Planter's Slaves on Bunker Hill!" A Nipmuck Chief, after his Victory at Sudbury, sent Word to the Authorities at Boston, "To make good Chear, for he would dine with them on Election Day!"

<sup>224</sup> Francis Card is one of those Individuals who appears in History like the Meteor in the Atmosphere, which no one is able to tell whence it came or whither it goeth. Mr. Savage has a Surmise that his Name was Carder; but such Surmise is hardly tolerable, unless the Name *Card* were unknown, which is notoriously not the Case. Mr. Willis kills our *Francis Card* in his Index to Portland, but nowhere else. *Card* is a well known Name in Rhode Island, throughout its History.



By the Report which he brings it doth not appear so difficult a Matter to make an Attempt to recover the Place, and destroy them that hold it, as was before apprehended : Infomuch, as that Design, that was under Debate before the Governour *and* Council a little before, and was let fall for the Present, as a Matter not Feasible, hath since been set a foot with a fresh Resolution. And another thing also occurred about the same Time, which put new Life into the said Designe, *viz.* an Apprehension that there were several of the *Narrba*[63]*gansets* scattered about in these Woods near *Pascataqua*, who it was feared might joine with those of *Kennibeck* in the Spring, and so come down upon the English Plantations, and spoyle them all that are thereabouts. For soon after *Francis Card* coming to *Boston*, some of *Major Waldrens* Indians at *Quechecho*, as they were hunting in the Woods chanced to meet with three strange Indians, the which had Guns, at least *two of them* ; but those of *Quechecho* were without. The other Indians began to *insinuate* into them, to see if they could make Way for their Acceptance with the *English* : Those Indians that this Motion was made unto, in a most *perfidious Manner* gave them Encouragement in the Business, and appointed a Place where to meet them the *next Day* ; saying, they would not have them now go *Home* with them to *their Wigwams*, least their *Women* and *Children* should be frightened with the Sight of their Guns. All

which was spoken upon a treacherous Account, by that Means to betray them; for they had neither Women nor Children at their Wigwams; but not having Guns themselves, as the others had, they durst not then seize upon them. The next Day therefore according to Appointment, their Guests expecting a Treaty and a friendly Compliance, (yet coming apart, as was ordered the Day before to be the more easily surpris'd) arrived at the Place appointed; and there presently, the first being thus treacherously brought into the Snare, was dispatched out of Hand. The like was also done to the second; the third was not at such a Distance, but he either discerned or suspected, what became of his Fellows, and therefore made the more haste to escape but his deceitful Friends were too quick for him, who shot him down before he could get out of their Reach: So as they took him alive, as is said: but he could not live much longer by Reason of his Wounds: These *Quechebo* Indians cut off the Scalps of their poor Countrymen, (which is their usual Manner, when it is too far to carry the Heads,) which being brought to *Major Walderns* Indians, they were presently discerned to be *Narrbagansets* by the cut of their Hair. This Instance is a sufficient Evidence of the Subtilty, Guile, and Falshood natural to all these Indians; and may satisfy any rational Person, what little Trust there is to be put in their Words, Promises or Engagements, though never so solemnly made, farther than they that make

them see Advantage in the keeping and performing. Subtlety, Malice, and Revenge, seems to be as inseparable from them, as if it were Part of their Essence.

Whatever Hopes may be of their Conversion to *Christianity* in after Time, there is but little Appearance of any *Truth* in their Hearts at present, where so much of the Contrary is so ordinarily breathed out of their Mouths.

[64] These were the Manners of the Gentiles in former Times, while they remained *Children of Disobedience*, until they were renewed after another Image: nor are these *incapable Subjects for Divine Grace to work upon*, yet are there some natural Vices proper to every Nation in the World, as *Paul* speaks of the Grecians, from the Testimony of one of their own Poets: *Κρητες ἀσι ψεύςται, &c.*

But to return; these things so concurring, and several Gentlemen from about *Pascataqua* repaying to *Boston*, so represented the State of Things Eastward before the Governour and Council, as that it was apprehended not only Necessary, but Feasible also to suppress the fore-said Indians in those Parts: Whereupon it was forthwith concluded that an Expedition should be made against them. To which End two hundred Souldiers, whereof about sixty were of the *Natick* Indians, that have given good Proof of their Valour, and Faithfulness to the English; all which were immediately dispatched away, the

first Week in February by Water, under the Conduct of *Major Waldern* as Commander in Chief; a Person well approved for his Activity, as well as Fidelity and Courage in Concernments of that Nature: They had to encounter with rough and contrary Winds, and much Cold Weather the first Week after their setting forth: But having so much Experience of the Favour and Goodness of the Almighty, who is wont always to be present with his Servants in like Cases, though he has often for a Time deferred for the Tryal of their Faith, and Exercise of their Patience: yet useth not to fail his People, that put their Trust in him, and dilligently seek his Face. A solemn Time being appointed for that End; to the which we expect a comfortable Answer: We that have sent forth our Friends on the publick Service, being thus engaged to follow them with Prayers, at the Present in Silence wait upon the Lord of Hosts to give a Blessing to the Designe; hoping our Friends in this necessary, though difficult Service, thus called forth, have gone out with the like Encouragement, and Resolution, that sometimes *Joab* did: *Let us be of good Courage, and play the Men for our People, and for the Cause of our God; and let the Lord do that which seemeth him good.*

Upon the eleventh of February two Indian Squaws, that had run away from *Major Walderns* in the Beginning of Winter, out of Discontent, because the Husband of one of them, and some



of the Relations of the other were sent away, came back again with more Wit, than they carried with them, though with less Flesh upon their Backs; for having wandred up towards *Pigwacket*, till they were almost starved there, they say, some Indians were seen by them, pretending they were going to the *Head* [65] of *Connecticut River*, with hostile Intents against the English: but they going away as they did, little Heed is given to the Storyes they tell upon their Return.

February the nineteenth following, *John Abbot*,<sup>225</sup> the Master of Mr. *Fryers* Ketch taken October the twelvth, before at *Black Point*, came in to the *Isle of Shoales*, having made a desperate Adventure to escape; he gave a more probable Account of Things in those Parts.

He saith, they were first carryed to *Shipscot River*, where the Vessel in which they were taken, was moored for all the Winter: In which Time the Indians having spent all their Amunition, and most of their Provision, counted it high Time now to be looking out for more: to which End, they caused the said *Abbot* to fit up the Vessel (being a Pinnacle of about thirty Tun) as well as he could, with such Assistance as they could af-

<sup>225</sup> This *Abbot* does not seem to have been known to any of the Genealogists. He may be the same whom Folsom met with at Saco, "At a Town-meeting, June 12, 1680." A John Abbot was

then accepted into the Town, and to enjoy its Privileges. He was afterwards "chosen Clerk of the Town and to keep the Town Records." Like Francis Card he is of the meteoric Class of Heroes.

ford him; and ten of them shipped themselves in the same, intending for *Penobscot*; from thence to sayl up that River as far as they could, and then leaving their Vessel to proceed on with their Canooes, as high up the River as the Stream would permit, and so to pass on to *Cannada* to buy Powder of the French there; it being at this Time two and thirty shillings a Pound amongst the Indians at *Kennibeck*. But as Providence ordered it, after these Marriners were launched into the Deep, a small Storm with contrary Wind began to arise; of which the English Skipper found Wayes in his steering to make the Danger seem more than really it was, insomuch that they resolved to put in at *Cape-bona-waggon*,<sup>226</sup> three Leagues to the Eastward of *Shipskot*, where eight of them went a Shore, leaving two Indians aboard with the English Skipper: After he had got so well rid of them, he contrived how to get shut of the other also: Therefore he perswaded them, that the Vessel would not ride safely in that Place, so as he prevailed with them to let him go to another Harbour, called *Damaris Cove*, two or three Leagues more Eastward: In the Way as he sayled, he so ordered his steering, that sometimes the Waves were ready to overtake the

<sup>226</sup> Doubtless the same, called on a Map of 1774, *Nawiggon*, and on the Maps of the Coast Survey, *Nezwaggen*. Both Sullivan and Williamson pretend to describe the Coast of Maine, but I do not find

that they notice this prominent Headland. The former is without any Index, and the latter has a very poor and defective one; by which one is never sure that what he looks for is not in the Work.

Veffel, which put his two Indians into a Fright, fo as they made all the haft they could to get a Shore, as foon as ever they came within the Harbour, urging him to go along with them; but he pretended a neceffary excufe to ftay behind to look after the Veffel but with Intent, as foon as ever he fhould fee them a Shore to hoyle fayl for fome Englifh Harbour, having no Body Aboard with him, but a fmall Englifh Child about three Years old: It feems the Indians had a Child or two of their own dead in the Veffel, who dying after they began their Voyage, they were the forwarder to go a Shore with them, for Buryal: the faid *Abbot* now perceiving he had obtained his Purpofe; (for he oft refolved [66] on this Project before) firft tallowing the Maft with a Piece of fat Pork left by the Indians, as high as he could reach; that he with his own Hands might the more eafily hoyle the Sayl, fo choofing rather to caft himfelf upon the Providence of God in the Waters, than to truft himfelf any longer with perfidious Salvages on the dry Land; he came fafe to *Iſle of Shoals* before the Evening of the next Day, February the nineteenth.

Within a few Days after, *John Abbot*, aforefaid made his Escape in the Veffel, there came an Exprefs from *Major Waldern* that Commander in Chief over our Forces ſent to *Kennibeck* to ſubdue the Indians in thoſe Parts, and deliver the Englifh Captives that have been detained in their Hands, ſince Auguſt laſt, which giveth this Account of their proceeding.

*February the seventeenth*, this Morning the Wind *North East*, soon after *South*, and *South West*, we set sayl with our *Vessels* from *Black Point* for *Portland*,<sup>227</sup> but on the *East-side of Cape Elizabeth*, we espyed *John Pain*,<sup>228</sup> (who was sent out a Scout) who brought Word *the Way was clear of Ice*, and *Indians*, whereupon we steared for *Mary Point* at the Head of *Casco Bay*, and got there this Night, but too late to get to the *Fort* before Morning.

*February the eighteenth*, we sent this Morning our Scouts out by Land, who returned about *eight of the Clock*, brought Word they espyed the *Traets of three Indians*, and found a *Birch Canoo* at *Muckquet*<sup>229</sup> about *four Miles* off, by which we feared we were discovered, the *Companyes* about *four a Clock* were drawn forth, and just beginning their March, when we espyed *five Canoos* of the

<sup>227</sup> This is the earliest Mention that I remember to have seen of the Place being called *Portland*. It was not incorporated by that Name till after the Revolution (1786). It was for a long Time known as *Casco*; at length *Falmouth* fully obtained. When it was to be incorporated there were, as usual on such Subjects, various Expressions of Opinion as to an appropriate Name; but that of *Portland* was finally adopted; entirely, I believe, because somebody liked the Sound of it. By simlar whimsical Fancies our Maps are figured from one End of the Country to the other. *Port Land* may

have had some significance in the Center of the Isle of Wight, but we can see none in a maritime Port in *Casco Bay*.

<sup>228</sup> A *John Payne* some Time before this kept "Capt. Walden's House at Penecock," and was summoned before the General Court, with several Wamefit Indians respecting the Murder of one *Thomas Dickinson*, in the Year 1668. *Original MS. Documents*. The *John Pain* of Waldern's Expedition is probably the same.

<sup>229</sup> *Maquoit*. Called now *Maquait*. It is about two Miles below Brunswick.



Enemy about *half a Mile* off, they landed over against us on an *Island*, and *holloed* to us, whereby we perceived they desired a *Treaty*, hoping to gain the *Captives*; we sent *John Pain* to them, they promised him to bring the *Captives* by Morning, and desired Peace. After this *John Pain* was sent again, and stayed among the Indians in the Room of *Simon*, who came to the *Major*. He was questioned, and answered as followeth.

*Quest.* How came you to know we were here?

*Ans.* We continually keep out our Scouts, and Yesterday our Indians left a *Canoo* at *Muck-quitt* which this Day we missed, and perceived the *English* had taken it, and our Men that left the *Canoo*, espyed you a great Way off at *Portland*.

*Quest.* Why did you break your Covenant with me.

*Ans.* *Blind Will* stirred us up to the War here, and said, he would kill you at *Quechecho*. *Simon* having said this, asked the *Major* what his Business was here? to whom it was answered, we came to fetch off the Captives and make War as we see good, *Simon* also told us that the [67] Captives were all well, that we should have them by Morning, that *Squanto* was there, and would give the Captives to Major *Waldern*: that they intended Peace, and had sent to *Boston* before now, but that *Mugg* told them the *English* would be here shortly.

The Major upon this dismissed *Simon*, and sent for *Squando*, to which *Squando* answered, he would meet him *Half-way* if he would come alone in a *Birch Canoo*. To this the Major answered, he would not venture himself in your *Leakie Canoo*, and that if he had no more to say, the Treaty was ended.<sup>230</sup> To this *Squando* answered, he would be with us again at ten a Clock and bring the Captives.

On the *nineteenth*, Wind North East, the Weather thick, about Noon we discovered a Party of Indians in fourteen Canoes about three Mile above us in the Bay. They landed on a Point of Land and burnt one English House, and shouted to some of our Men that were Scouts, challenging them to fight: Immediately on the Return of our Scouts we marched against them as secretly as we could: Upon Sight of us they fled; but Captain *Frost*<sup>231</sup> came upon them with his whole Body before they were half out of Gun Shot. In this Skirmish, we judged we killed and wounded several of them without any Damage, yet some of their Bullets hit some of our Men. For the Captives Sake immediately after this, we hung out a Flag of Truce, and the Enemy did the like: *John Pain* was sent to them to demand the Reason

<sup>230</sup> The Major was a very unsuitable Agent to manage Matters with the Indians at this critical Period, if I have been able fairly to estimate his character. Arrogance and a haughty Deportment were not likely

to conciliate an Enemy goaded by continued Affronts and Abuses.

<sup>231</sup> Capt. Charles Frost of Sturgeon Creek, Kittery. See Note 153, *ante*.

why they fired the House, and brake their Promise.

*Simon* met him Half-way, and answered, the House was fired *accidentally* without Order from *Squando*; that they had sent for the Captives who were a great Way off, and the Foul-weather hindred their coming: He questioned *John Pain* also why he fought them while we were in Treaty.

*Pain* answered they brake it themselves in not performing their Promise, challenging our Soldiers to fight; this latter *Simon* denied, and answered the other as before: *Simon* told him they had two Men wounded, and expected Satisfaction, but also promised the Captives the next Day, and so left us.

On the *twentieth*, the Wind North East, and Snow, it was resolved to sayl for *Kennibek* the first fair Wind, whether we had immediately gone, upon our Knowledge, that we were discovered by the Enemy, but that the Winds and Weather hindred us hitherto.

*February the twenty first*, this Morning the Wind North West, we set sayl for *Kennibek*, and arrived at the Harbours Mouth at four a Clock: About Sun set we set sayl up the River, and got to the lower End of *Arowsick*.

[68] *Twenty second*, we set sayl this Morning, but could not get to the Head of the River for Ice, whereupon we landed our Soldiers about two a Clock, about twelve Miles off *Aboundessit*

*Fort*,<sup>232</sup> and immediately began our March, about eight a Clock at Night came to the Fort, we found no Indians, there we took up our Quarters this Night.

*Twenty third* we sent our Scouts to discover the March of the Enemy, but found so many Tracts every Way, that we knew not what Way to follow them. At a Council of War it was resolved that Major *Waldern* should sayl for *Penobscot*, with two of the Ketches, and Part of the Souldiers to seek after the Captives, and fight the Enemy if he had Opportunity, the Rest to build a Garrison. In the Absence of our Forces the Vessels espyed several Fires below the River, and one English House was burnt, about Sun set, the Souldiers returned to the Vessels.

*Twenty fourth* this Morning the Major with two Boats and a Shallop went to spy out a Place to settle a Garrison, and found one against the lower End of *Arowsick Island*, and the Vessels are brought to it.

*Twenty fifth*, We rested here this Sabbath.

*John Bakers*<sup>233</sup> House opposite to the lower End of *Arowsick*, being judged the most convenient Place for their Purpose, as well for the Convenience of Water for the Souldiers, as of a Cove wherein Ships might ride, within Command

<sup>232</sup> *Abbigadassit*, as since written. A River so named from a Chief who resided upon it. See *Book of the Indians*, 285.

<sup>233</sup> In 1734, the Hon. William Pepperrell had in trust 500 Acres of

Land "in the new Township at the Head of Berwick" for *Christian Baker*. This *Christian Baker* is doubtless THE *Christina Baker* of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, Vol. ii, p. 283-4.



thereof, their Vessels therefore were immediately anchored there, where they rested on the Lords Day, February the twenty fifth.

The next Day according to the Advice of the Commanders, Major *Waldern* embarked sixty Men in two Vessels, with which he set sail immediately for *Penobscot*, leaving the Rest to be employed in making Preparation for settling a Garrison in the said Place.

In their Way, off from *Gy-obscot Point*, they espyed two Indians in a Canoo, that waved their Caps, as if they desired Speech with them. *John Pain* and *Wat. Ghendal* were presently sent; they gave them Intelligence that many Indians were at *Pemmaquid* with English Captives, upon which they bent their Course thither, where arriving they anchored at four a Clock, the same Day. Soon after two Indians hollowed to them from Mr. *Gardners Fort*.<sup>234</sup> *John Pain* was sent a Shore to enquire who they were, and what was become of the Captives: Sundry sorts of Indians were found upon the Place, with several *Sagamores*, the chief of whom, was *Mattabando*, who told he was glad to see English Men there, and that he desired Peace, and promised to deliver such Captives as were at *Penobscot* then, the next Morning; adding also, that he desired to speak with Captain *Davis*. After *John Pain* returned to the [69] Major, he was

<sup>234</sup> Probably Mr. *Thomas Gardiner's*. He was of the Rhode Island Gardiners. Before the War Mr. Gardiner resided at Pemaquid, and was a Man of some Note. See William-son, *History of Maine*, i, 421, 443.

sent back with the said *Davis*, and staid a Shore, till three *Sagamores* went a board, and signified as much to Major *Waldern*, as they had said before to *John Pain*. While they were in Discourse, an English Captive was espyed in a Canoo with his *Pateroon*, with whom they desired to speak, but it was not granted at that Time, he being carried farther up the River out of Sight.

Soon after the Major went a Shore with six Men, yet carrying no Armes with them. He found their Words *smoother than Oyl*, yet were there *drawn Swords in their Hearts*, of which some of their Actions, gave no small Ground of Suspicion: for they deferred all till the next Morning; nor were they willing to let the Man that was espyed before in the Canoo come aboard to see his Friends without leaving an Hostage in his Room, of which the *Major* was very glad, that he might have an Opportunity of a little Discourse with one whom they might trust. When they returned from the Shore, a Sign was promised to be given for the Appearance of the Indians by the firing of three Guns. The next Morning, *February the twenty seventh*, the Major with the same Number as before, went to Treat with them: They with *John Pain* having first hollowed to them, upon their coming ashore their Persons were searched on both Sides and all Arms laid aside. The whole forenoon was spent in a Treaty, whereat they seemed much to rejoyce in Expectation of a Peace with the English;

yet when Major *Waldern* desired a present Delivery of the Captives, with Assistance of Men and Canoes to fight the *Monoscoggin Indians*, Enemies to them both, it was denyed, though they could not have had a fitter Testimony of their Fidelity.

They alleaged that the Captives were given them by *Kennibeck Indians*, and they must have something for keeping them all Winter, and therefore were not willing to let them go without Ransome. And for their Canoes, they said they had them in present Service, being then bound for *Penobscot*. The Price demanded, viz. twelve Skins a Person, was yeilded to; upon which they presently delivered *William Chadburn*,<sup>235</sup> *John Whinnick*,<sup>236</sup> and *John Worwood*,<sup>237</sup> which were all that they would own, or could be proved they had.

That Part of the Pay, which was to be *in Liquor*, was presently laid down, the Rest was promised to be sent in the Afternoon. The

<sup>235</sup> Doubtless a Connection, and perhaps a Member of the Family of Humphrey Chadbourne of Newichawannock (South Berwick). When or how he became a Captive does not appear. There has been from the first Emigration in 1631, always a *Humbrey Chadbourne*, to this Day. When James Sullivan was writing his History of Maine, the Hon. Benj. Chadbourne was in Possession of the Estate purchased by his Great-grandfather (?) of the Indian Sagamore *Rowles*, in 1643;

(not of *Mr. Knowles* as Sullivan has it), that he was then (1793) 75 years old; also that he could remember when there was not a House between his own and Canada.

<sup>236</sup> This Name is probably *Winnock*. Joseph Winnock was a Resident of Scarborough before 1675. See *Colls. Me. Hist. Soc.*, iii, 83.

<sup>237</sup> The Name *Worwood* is of rare Occurrence in our Historical Materials. Farmer found a *Richard Worwood* of Charlestown, 1644. Savage places him in Cambridge.

Commanders debated what was farther to be done, one or two of the old Sagamores, (who were believed) seemed sincere about the Peace, professed that none of them had any Hand in the War, but only some of their young Men, whom they could not Rule: But several of the Company affirming they saw some of the said Indians at *Casco* engaged in Hostility [70] against the English, it was resolved not to enter into any League of Peace with them, but rather to fight them, or surprize them after they had dispatched the Business about the Captives.<sup>238</sup>

This being determined, the *Major* with five of his Men went a shore, with Part of the Ransome, the better to beget a Confidence in them; and then presently to return aboard, and fit his Men for farther Service. But if he had not wisely provided against all Exigencies afore hand, he might have been prevented from ever going aboard more; for stepping aside a Rod or two from the Place, for better Circumspection, he espyed the Point of a Lance from under a Board, hid there, as were other Arms near by for a treacherous Designe that was in their Mindes, soon after, upon the receiving the Rest of the Pay, to have been put in Execution. Whereupon Major *Waldern* took up the Lance, and came towards them, charging them with Falseness and Treachery,

<sup>238</sup> The Identification of particular Indians under such Circumstances may well be questioned. From the whole Course of Proceeding on the

Part of the English during this Expedition, the Indians could expect nothing but a steady Purpose to deceive and circumvent them.



for hiding Weapons just by, wherewith to destroy them as soon as they had delivered the Goods: The Indians discovered their Guiltiness by their Countenances, some of them making towards him, thinking to get the said Weapon out of his Hands; but he bid them stand off, threatening to kill every one that offered to touch him. And immediately waved his Cap over his Head, (which was the Designe agreed upon, for the Souldiers to come all a shore, in Case of need) upon which token the Souldiers all hastened away. In the mean while the English that went ashore to wait upon the Major, were forced to bestir them, both to secure the Goods from being carryed away, and to defend Major *Waldern*: Some of the Squaws with others of the Enemy ran away, one of them catched up a Bundle of Guns that were hid near by, and ran away with them. Captain *Frost* seized an Indian called *Megunaway*, a notorious Rogue, (that had been in Arms at *Connecticut* last June, at the *Falls*, and saw the brave and resolute Captain *Turner* when he was slain about *Green River*; and helped to kill *Thomas Bracket* at *Casco*, August last.) And with the Help of Lieutenant *Nutter*,<sup>239</sup> according to the Majors Order carryed him aboard, while himself searching about farther found three Guns hid in a *Cow-house* just at hand, wherewith he armed the other three Men that were with him: By this Time some of the Souldiers were got ashore, and in-

<sup>239</sup> Perhaps *Anthony*, son of *Hatevil Nutter*, of *Dover*.

stantly according to their Majors Command pursued the Enemy towards their Canoos. In the Chase, several of the Enemies were slain, whose Bodies they found at their Return, to the Number of seven, amongst whom was *Matthando* the Sagamore, with an old Powaw, to whom the *Devil* had revealed, as sometimes he did to *Saul*, that on the same Day he should be with him: for he had a little before told the Indians, that within two Days, the [71] English would come and kill them all, which was at the very same Time verified upon himself: The Body of our Men overtook them before they all recovered their Canoos, so as without doubt, divers others of them were slain likewise: for they sunk a Canoo, wherein were five drowned before their Eyes; and many others were not able to paddle: four they took Prisoners, whom they brought away with them. There being about five and twenty of the Indians present at the Encounter.

Much more Damage might have been done by our Men upon the Enemy, if they had known the ready Way to their Canoos; but the Indians having prepared all Things ready for Fight, in Case, as well as for Flight, the more easily made their Escape. One of the Captives taken was *Madockawando's* Sister, who was entertained very courteously by the Commander in Chief, and had been carried forthwith to her Brother, in Hope by her Means to have gained the better Terms for our remaining English Captives, but it was

certainly known that he was gone from Home upon an Hunting Designe, and not to return in two Months.

The English took much Plunder from the Indians, about a thousand Weight of dried Beef, with other Things. *Megunnaway* was Shot to Death, the same Day or the next, so as Justice is by Degrees pursuing those perfidious Villains, and one after another they are brought under the the Wheel of Destruction. *Simon* that Arch Traytor, seems as is said by his consumptive Looks, to have received the Sentence of Death, which may bring him into the same Place or State with the Rest.

*Feb. 28th.* they set saile for *Shipscot*, but the Wind failing, they were put in at *Kennibeck*, from whence Captain *Fiske*<sup>240</sup> with forty Men were sent to the said Place to seek after Plunder, where they found between thirty and forty Bushels of good Wheat, which they brought away with them, several other Things they lighted upon here and there, some of which were brought away; as one or two great Guns, and some Anchors from *Saga-de-Hock*, Boards from *Arowsick*, where they found an hundred thousand Foot, of which they brought Home enough for the Lad-

<sup>240</sup> There were two Captain Fiskes living in these Times; *Phinebas* and *Thomas*, both of Wenham. From what is said about the Prominence of Capt. *Thomas Fiske* in the *History of Wenham*, we are led to

conjecture that he was *the* Capt. Fiske of this Expedition. If so, or if either were he, the Author of that Work (Dr. M. O. Allen) did not discover it.

ing of their Vessels, leaving the Rest to be transported in a more convenient Season.

While our Souldiers were upon *Arowick*, two of the Enemy chancing to come upon the Place, one of them presently received his Reward, the other received his in Part, which yet is supposed to amount to the Whole. The Canoo wherein he seemed to escape, being found the next Day all bloody and split asunder.

*March the first*, one of the Indian *Squaws*, a Captive, was sent to *Taconet Fort*, with a Message to the *Sagamores* to Treat for the Rest of the [72] Captives: Five Days were given her for her Return, which were not expired, when Major *Waldern*, with most of the Souldiers were called to return Home towards *Boston*, where they arrived *March the eleventh*, 1676. 77. having first put in at *Portsmouth*; bringing along with them *the Bones*, rather *the Body* of Captain *Lake*, preserved entire and whole and free from Putrefaction by the Coldness of the long Winter, so as it was when found by the Discretion of one that was near him when he was slain, easily discerned to be his, by such as had known him before.<sup>241</sup>

It is hoped by those that returned, the Enemies are by this Encounter of the English so scattered and broken, that they will not be able to rally again suddenly, or make any after Attempt, if the present Advantage be seriously pursued. And thus have our Enemies themselves many of them

<sup>241</sup> See Page 165, Note 190, *ante*.



*fallen into the Pit which they have been digging for others.*

This Day also Letters were received from Major *Pinchon* of *Springfield*, but without mention of any Appearance of Enemies in that Quarter, whereby we are encouraged to believe, that they have stumbled and fallen down backward, so as they shall never rise any more to make farther Disturbance. That which crowned the present Service was the performing it without Loss of Blood ; they all returning Home in Safety, not any one being missed. Let them accordingly remember to pay a suitable Tribute of Thankfulness to him under whose Banner they went forth, and returned in Safety ; and say with *Moses* the Servant of the Lord, JEHOVAH NISSI.

*A further Continuation of the Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England, from April 1677 to June 1680.*<sup>242</sup> [Pages 629 to 639 of the printed Work.]

An Attempt was made against our Indian Enemies, by way of a Diversion, in the Spring of the last Year, 1677, by treating with the *Mohawks* or *Marwques* Indians, partly to secure them to be our Friends, as hitherto they had been, and partly to see if they could not be induced to prosecute their inbred antipathy against our Indian Enemies, with whom they have had a long and deadly Feud heretofore. Something was done that way by the Help and Advice of Major Andros, the Governor of New York;<sup>243</sup> and probably the Fear thereof was the only thing that awed the Indians about *Pemaquid* into a stricter Correspondency and

<sup>242</sup> This Part of the History was written after the preceding was published, and not printed till long after the Author's Death. It forms one Chapter of his *History of New England*, namely, Chapter Sixty-four. It gives a Completeness to the History of the INDIAN WAR of this Period, and could not, with Propriety be omitted in a new and complete Edition of this History. To omit it would indeed be an Act of Injustice to the Author. This Note therefore is made as an Explanation, and not as an Apology for this

Addition to the original Work.

<sup>243</sup> Mr. Andros became Governor of New England in 1686. His Administration was any thing but agreeable to the Country, and is sufficiently animadverted upon in all our Histories. To those who desire a nearer View than is to be obtained from the General Works may consult *A Narrative of the Miseries of New England*, 1689; *New England Justified*, printed in 1691; *The Deploable State of New England*, 1708, and divers other Tracts of that Period.

more ready Compliance with the English; but the Truth of this will be judged by the Event hereafter.

A long, troublesome, and hazardous Journey was undertaken by the Hon. Major *Pinchon*, of *Springfield*, and Mr. *Richards* of *Hartford*, in behalf of those two Colonies: they were followed with as much Success as they could expect. The *Mawque* Indians made a great shew of cordial Friendship to the English, and bitter Enmity against the Indians that have risen against them, making large Promises of pursuing their Quarrel against them to the uttermost in their Power; but Distance of the Place, and Difficulty of the Journey, hath prevented any great Matter of Effect in that kind, as was expected.

For though some armed themselves and came down within the Territories of those Indians that have of late so much infested the English Plantations, yet the Distance between their own Place and that of the other Indians was so great, that they did little Execution upon their own and our Enemies.<sup>244</sup> The most good it is hoped they did,

<sup>244</sup> There is a Letter of James Parker, dated "*From Mr. Hinchmans Farme ner Meremack*, 23: 1 mo: 1676-7," directed to the "Honored Govner and Council at Bostown," saying Wonalanset had just informed him that his Son and Daughter being hunting up the River Merrimack, over against Souhegan, upon the 22d of this Instant, discovered 15 "Indens which he supposed to be Mohokes by their Speech.

They shot about 30 Guns at him," though he received no Harm. See *Colls. N. H. Hist. Society*, iii, 100.

It appears that Major Pynchon had been employed to engage the Mohawks to come against the New England Indians; that in May of this Year, 1677, his Expenses in that Service amounted to £128. Twelve Men attended him, to whom he was to pay £30. *Gen. Court Records*, v, 138.

was by the Rumor of their coming down upon the Backs of our Enemies; it being known to be their natural Temper to be very fearful of any Evil while it is far off, and very stupid and blockish whenever it actually falls upon them.

Some of the Country were not well satisfied in the Design, as questioning the Lawfulness of making Use of their Help, as they were Heathen; but the General Court and the most considerate of the Country, apprehended it lawful to make use of any Advantage Providence put into their Hands, whereby to weaken or abate the Force and Power of their Enemies.

*Abraham* entered into a Confederacy with the *Amorites*, among whom he sojourned, and made use of their Assistance to assist him in the vindicating of the Quarrel of his Kinsman, *Lot*, and recovering of him and his Family out of the Hands of the common Enemy of them all. That which was now done by the General Court of the *Massachusetts* was no other. And this further Benefit did redound to them thereby, that *Blind Will*, a Sagamore at *Pascataqua*, that was a secret Enemy of the English, and one [that] contrived much of the Mischief that was done by the Indians of those Parts against the English, was killed by those *Mohawks* or *Mawques*, as they ranged through those Woods in the Beginning of the Year 1677, which the English much rejoiced in, although they knew not well how to put him to Death themselves, because he pretended a kind of Friendship to-



wards them, without provoking the other Indians, his Neighbors, against whom they had no such Cause of Exception.

But to return to the other Part of the Narrative, concerning the further Mischief acted by the Indians Eastward against the English in those Parts.

It was hoped in the Beginning of that Year, 1677, that the Warfare of New England had been accomplished ; but it appeared by the Sequel that the Storm was not yet over, nor were they as yet called to put on Beauty for Ashes, or the Garments of Praise for Heaviness. For early in the Spring that Year, the Country was alarmed by the uncomfortable News of the Slaughter of nine of the Garrison left before Winter at *Kennebeck*, who, going securely to *Arowsick Island* to inter some of the English that were left unburied before Winter, and not having seen an Indian stir for many Weeks together, were apprehensive of no Danger till they fell into the same ; for as they went to perform the funeral Obsequies to their Christian Friends, they were suddenly surprised by a number of Indians that intercepted them before they could recover their Boat, and so all cut off but three or four that hardly escaped by some other Way than they came ; which doleful Accident put the Governor and Council upon a Resolution to fetch off the Rest of the Garrison, not accounting it worth the while to run so much Hazard to secure it ; so that poor

Remnant returning back, arrived at *Boston* with Captain *Hunting*, who was sent for them, April the 19th, 1677.

The Soldiers being thus drawn off from the Garrison, more Mischief was done by the barbarous Enemy in scattering Parties down lower towards *Pascataqua*, for April 6th three were killed at the Town of *Wells*, and April the 12th two more, the one named *John Weld*, the other *Benjamin Storer*.

About the same Time a Man and a Boy were fowling in the Marshes, and suddenly the Boy espied seven Indians coming near them, while the Man was mending his Flint; but at the Notice, suddenly rising, he presently scared them away by holding out his Gun and saying, "you Rogues, I have been looking for you."

About April the 7th six or seven Men were slain by the Indians near York, while they were at work two Miles from the Town, whereof one was the Son of Lieutenant *Smith*, of *Winnismet*, near *Boston*, a very hopeful young Man, who went in his Brother's Room, yet his Brother's Turn is to come soon after. April the 14th *Simon* and *Andrew*, the two Brethren in Iniquity, with a few more, adventured to come over *Pascataqua River* on *Portsmouth* Side, when they burnt one House,<sup>245</sup> within four or five Miles of the Town, and took a Maid and a young Woman captive; one of them had a young Child in her Arms,

<sup>245</sup> The House of Edward Weymouth at Sturgeon Creek.

with which not willing to be troubled they gave leave to her that held it to leave it with an old Woman, whom the Indian *Simon* spared because he said she had been kind to his Grandmother ; yet one of the two Captives escaped from their Hands two Days after, as did the other April 22d, who giving notice of the Indians, (being not so narrowly looked to as they used to do others,) thirty Soldiers were sent in that Pursuit into three Places, by one of which the Indians that had done the Mischief were to pass, but discovering the English at a Distance they escaped away through the Woods.

Soon after three more were slain in those Woods near *Portsmouth*, whereof one was riding to give Notice of the Danger to others in the Outparts of the Town, which himself it seems could not escape. Two of the Men slain were very much lamented, being sober, active young Men ; but the Sword, when it hath its Commis-sion, will devour one as well as another.

April 29 an Indian discovered himself near *Wells*, on purpose, as was judged, to draw out the English into a Snare. Lieutenant *Swett*, that commanded the Garrison at that Time left for securing the Town, sent out eleven of the Soldiers under his Command to lie in wait in some convenient Place ; but as they passed along they fell into an Ambush of the Indians, who shot down two of them and mortally wound a third. The Lieutenant hearing the Guns, sent with all

Speed upon the Enemy, and shot down five or six of them; but was prevented of doing any considerable Spoil upon them by the Folly of an Irishman that was in his Company, who gave the Notice of the Lieutenant's Approach, by calling out aloud, "here they be, here they be;" for upon that Alarum they presently ran all away out of Sight, and too fast to be pursued.

May 16 another Party of the Enemy resolved to try their Valor once again upon the Garrison at *Black Point*, not doubting but to carry the Place with a bold Onset, which they made with much Resolution and Courage, for they assaulted the Garrison three Days together, in which Space of Time they killed three of the English and took one Prisoner, whom, as is said, they miserably tormented. The Garrison, on the other Hand, as stoutly defended themselves, by the Courage and Valor of Lieutenant *Tippin*, that commanded them, and at last made a successful Shot upon an Indian, that was observed to be very busy and bold in the Assault, whom at that Time they deemed to be *Simon*, the arch Villain and Incendiary of all the Eastward Indians, but proved to be one almost as good as himself, who was called *Mogg*, that had been an Author of much Mischief the Year before. The Slaughter of him much damped the Courage of all his Companions, so as they soon after quitted the Siege, flying away in eleven Canoes towards the Eastward; yet five paddled their Canoes down towards *York*, where



they killed six of the English and took one Captive, May 19 following; and May 23, four Days after, one was killed at *Wells*, and one taken by them betwixt *York* and *Wells*; amongst whom was the eldest Son of Lieutenant *Smith* forementioned: his younger Brother was slain in the same Town not long before; so as their Father might well mourn as Ephraim did of old, for the Evil that befel his House, the Memorial of which was signalized by the name *Beriah*, in Remembrance thereof, given his next succeeding Child.

May 28 six Indians that were of the English Side, having drunk too much strong Liquor, [it] made them sottish and also careless of their Lives, so as that next Morning they were taken Prisoners by the Enemy Indians, who carried them twenty Miles up into the Woods, where they let them loose again, for Fear of the *Mohawks*, whose very Name is a Terror and Dread to them.

Yet still, their Malice against us being implacable, they ranged from one Town to another, observing where they could do any further Mischief; for June 13 two Men, upon a Surprise, were suddenly shot down, that belonged to *Hampton*, above two Miles distant from the Town; for two sprightly young Men of the Place, hearing Guns, mounted their Horses and presently made to that Place, to see what the Matter was, but not looking about them so carefully as they should, were both mortally wounded, whereof one was called *Edward Colcot*, a sober and well

disposed young Man, much lamented at his Death, by all that knew him. He died soon after, if not the next day, of his Wounds.<sup>246</sup>

The Indians thus making daily Inroads upon these weak unfenced Places, the Governor and Council resolved to raise new Forces, and having had good Experience of the Faithfulness and Valor of the Christian Indians about *Natick*, armed two hundred of them and sent them together with forty English, to prosecute the Quarrel against those Eastward Indians to the full; but not judging aright of the Number of the Enemy, they much underdid their Business, for besides that the Number they sent of English was a great deal too small, those that were chosen this Bout to take their Turns in the Service Abroad, were many of them young, raw, and unexperienced Soldiers, who were not able to look Danger, much less Death, in the Face, in cool Blood, by which Means it came to pass that the Enterprize succeeded so ill; for Captain *Swett*, with Lieutenant *Richardson*, that was sent with him to command the friendly Indians, coming to *Black Point* June 28th, he began to try the Valor and Courage of his Company before he had disciplined them, or had any Experience of their Ability to fight. The very next Morning after

<sup>246</sup>The Names of the four Persons killed, according to the Records of Hampton were Edward Colcord, Jr., Abraham Perkins, Jr., Benjamin Hilliard and Caleb Towle.

Colcord was a promising young Man and was much regretted. He was killed in that Part of Hampton called *Pages Town*. *Toppan's MS. Hist. Hampton Families.*

he had landed his Men, understanding by his Scouts that many of the Enemies were up and down upon the Place, he made too much Haste to fall upon them, and not mistrusting their Number, while he was marching upon the Edge of an Hill with one Party and his Lieutenant with another, the Indians, that had hid themselves in the Swamp on each Side of the Hill, suddenly fired upon the English on both Sides, which not a little discouraged his young and undisciplined Company, so as they could not or did not keep their Ranks, but while some were ready to run and shift for themselves, the Captain strived to keep them together, to bring off the dead and wounded Men, so long that he brought himself and all the Company in Danger of an utter Overthrow, which soon after took place; for the poor unskilful Soldiers, being scattered, were shifting for themselves, while a few resolute Men of Courage bore the Brunt of the Service till they were in a Manner all knocked down. The Lieutenant was killed soon after the first Onset; the Captain having received near twenty Wounds, yet still held out, defending and encouraging his Men, till he was surrounded with more of his Enemies than he was able to grapple with, and so was at the last barbarously murdered by them within a little of the Garrison-house. There were slain at this Time somewhat above forty of the English, and twelve of the friendly Indians that assisted, very few escaping but were

either killed right out or dangerously wounded.<sup>247</sup> Thus was another Summer spent in Calamities and miserable Occurrents amongst the Eastern Parts. Yet was not this all the Miseries that the poor English had to endure this Year; for after the poor Husbandmen and Planters had drunk their full Share of the Cup of Affliction, that the other Sort, who trade by Sea, and use to follow Fishing upon those Eastern Parts, might not take themselves to be secure, or think better of themselves than their Brethren, who had suffered all the Calamities forementioned, July 15th News came of several Ketches that were surpris'd as they lay secure in the Harbors whither they used to turn in upon every Occasion as they were making their Fishing-voyages. There were near twenty of those fishing Ketches thus surpris'd first and last, most of which carried five or six Men apiece, but they being many of them a dull and heavy-moulded sort of People, that had not either Skill or Courage to kill any thing but Fish, were easily taken, and had not Heart enough either to make Resistance when first attacked, nor afterward to make any Attempt for an Escape to free themselves, as some did, and so delivered themselves, with the Slaughter of them that held them Prisoners aboard their own Vessels, when some others, that had more Courage and Spirit than

<sup>247</sup> The Names of those killed belonging to Andover, are entered upon the Town Records: They were four, *viz.*, John and James Parker, John Phelps and Daniel Blackhead.



the Rest, were sadly destroyed for want of Courage in them that were in their Vessels to stand by them while they were attempting to deliver themselves, which was the Case of one or two of the Vessels, whose Companions were all cut off by that Means.<sup>248</sup>

<sup>248</sup> On the 8th of July, 1677, five fishing Vessels were surprized near Cape Sable, in which were 26 People, all of whom fell into the Hands of the Indians. Among the Vessels thus captured, was the *William and Sarah* of Salem, of which Joseph Bovey was Master, whose Crew consisted of four Men. The Indians, some ten in Number, approached in Canoes, while the Vessel lay at Anchor in Port La Tour, and at Dawn of Day saluted the English with a Volley of Bullets, but hurt no one, as those on Board had time to run below. The Indians immediately boarded them, saying if the English resisted they were all dead Men. They then bound the Men after stripping them of their Clothes, and made them sit on Deck till towards Evening, when they unbound them and ordered them to sail the Vessel into the Mouth of the Penobscot. In all the five Vessels (or Ketches) were from 70 to 80 Indians. The Wind "shortning" they were forced to anchor, where they remained about two Days. In the mean time they chafed and took a Bark belonging to Mr. Watts, in which was one William Butwell. Then the Indians mixed up the Crews, sending some

out of Bovey's Ketch and taking in others. There was with Bovey one Robert Roules of Marblehead, him the Indians ordered to sail the Vessel, and it was immediately put in Pursuit of a sail they had just discovered; but Night coming on, one of the Indians ordered him to bear up to return to his Companions. Meantime it seems the English had determined to wrest their Vessel out of the Enemy's Hands. Roules refused to obey the Indian Captain; whereat he began to be angry and to utter Threats; whereupon Butwell seized him by the Throat, threw him upon the Deck, stopped his Mouth with his Hat and held him down with his Knee. At the same Time Richard Downs grappled another Indian, and, with some help from Roules threw him overboard; soon after another shared the same Fate. The remaining two Indians they were able to bind, and then made sail for Marblehead, where they safely arrived on the 15th of the same Month. On taking their Prisoners on Shore, "the whole Town flocked about them; especially the Women," who soon overpowered their Keepers, "got the Indians into their own Hands, and with Stones and Billets, and what

But the Indians finding their inability to manage such kind of Vessels, much too heavy for them to wield with paddles, grew soon after weary of that sport, and were pretty willing to return the Vessels to the English, after they had pillaged out of them what was for their turn. The Merchants about *Salem*, to whom the said Ketches principally belonged, fitted up a Vessel in the Nature of a Man-of-war, which they had furnished with several resolute, stout Hands, but they were strangely disappointed of coming up with any of the Indian Mariners, so that they were forced to return without doing any considerable Execution upon them.<sup>249</sup>

During these Troubles Major *Andros*, the Governor of New York, being willing to secure the Interest of his Highness the Duke of York in those Parts, lest, in the Absence of the English, some foreign Nation should take the Advantage of possessing themselves of any Part of the Dominions belonging to our Nation, timely sent a Sloop with a considerable Number of Soldiers to the Parts about Pemaquid, which when the Indians, that had all this while been up in Rebellion, understood, they were at the last willing to fall

not else, made an End of them." In short, they literally tore them in Pieces. *Original Deposition of Robert Roules.*

<sup>249</sup> "July 25th. The Lord having allowed the Indians to take no less than 13 Ketches of Salem and cap-

tivate the Men (though divers of them cleared themselves and came Home) it struck great Consternation into all People here, and it was agreed that the Lecture Day should be kept as a Fast." Felt's *Annals of Salem, out of First Ch. Records.* See also Mather's *Relation*, 263.

into a kind of Amity and Friendship. In the Beginning of August News of this Overture came to the *Massachusetts*, the Comfort of which was not a little augmented by the certain Information that came soon after of fifteen English Captives returned to the Soldiers of Major *Andros*, and Hopes of a general Peace; and the Confirmation thereof was more increased by the News of the Return of the Rest of the Vessels, that were taken by the Enemy, into the Hands of the English. In which Posture were Things left in those Parts in the Beginning of Winter, and nothing of another Nature was discoursed in the End of February following, nor yet in the End of June that next ensued.

But the tragical Sufferings of the poor English are not as yet all accomplished in other Parts of the Country, for about September the 19th following, forty or fifty River Indians fell suddenly upon the town of *Hatfield*, about *Connecticut*, who were a little too secure, and too ready to say the bitterness of Death was past, because they had neither seen nor heard of any Enemy in those Parts for half a Year before. But at this Time, as a considerable Number of the Inhabitants of that small Village were employed in raising the Frame of an House without the Palisadoes, that defended their Houses from any sudden incursions of the Enemy, they were violently and suddenly assaulted by forty or fifty Indians, when they were in no Capacity to resist or defend

themselves, so as several were shot down from the Top of the House which they were raising, and fundry were carried away captive, to the Number of twenty or more, which was made up [to] twenty-four with them they carried away the same or the next Day from Deerfield, whither some of the Inhabitants had unadvisedly too soon returned.<sup>250</sup> One of the Company escaped out of their Hands two or three Days after, who informed that they had passed with their poor Captives two or three times over the River of *Connecticut* to prevent being pursued. It was said, also, that about a Fortnight after the same Indians attempted to take a Mill at *Hadley*, two Miles from the Town, and missing their End, pretended a kind of Parley, and promised to return those they had captivated a little before; but it proved but one of their usual Deceits, whereby they were wont to abuse the English; for where, or in what Condition, those Captives are at present, must be the Subject of the Reader's Prayers rather than of the Author's Story.

Yet since the writing of the Premises, *Benjamin Wait* and *Stephen Jennings*, two Men of *Hatfield*, whose Wives were amongst the Number of the forementioned Captives, having obtained a Commission from the Government of the *Massachu-*

<sup>250</sup> An extensive Addition to our Text respecting the great Tragedy of the 19th of September, was published in 1859, and forms the first Issue of the Bradford Club. Another

Source will be found in the Narrative of *Quintin Stockwell*, one of the Sufferers in that Depredation, republished in the *Tragedies of the Wilderness*.



*setts*, pursued after them in the depth of Winter, (though not with such a Number as those with which *Abram* pursued after the Army that carried captive his Kinsman, *Lot*,) and overtook them about *Canada*, and, by the help of the French there seated, recovered their Wives, with other Captives, which they brought back by way of Ransom, and not by Force of Arms.<sup>251</sup>

Their Adventure being attended with so many Difficulties and Dangers, in the depth of Winter, not to be paralleled with any Attempt of that Nature since the English came into those Parts, wherein they were surely led along by a divine *Nutus*, as well as by the innate Love to their Wives, (which would have afforded Matter for a large Fiction to some of the ancient Poets,) is as followeth from their own Mouths. On the 24th of October, 1677, they advanced towards *Westfield*, and from thence to *Albany*, where they arrived the Thursday seven-night after, distant at least two hundred Miles from *Boston*, and instead of being encouraged and furthered in so commendable an Enterprize, they were by Force and

<sup>251</sup> There was a small Broadside or Handbill printed by order of the Massachusetts Government, giving the Particulars of Expenses, Lists of Contributions from Towns, and other Items about the Ransom of the Deerfield and Hatfield Captives. Of those Handbills but one Copy has ever come to my Knowledge, nor have I ever heard of any one who

has ever heard of any other Copy. This was preserved by an Attempt at its complete Destruction: It was used as a *Lining to the Covers of a Book*, and was taken off with great Difficulty, and not in a perfect State, because it was mutilated in making it fit the Covers to which it was a Lining. It was issued August 22d, 1678.

strong Hand, after two or three Attempts to pass on towards Canada, (whither it was conceived their Wives, with the other Captives, were carried by the Indians,) carried back above twenty Miles from *Sconektoket* [Schenectady] to *Albany*, where they were detained Prisoners till they could be sent down to the Governor of *New York*, upon Pretence of an Order at that very Time newly come from the said Governor, that none, either Christian or Pagan, should go that Way to the French, but first to be sent down to him, which was about one hundred Miles down Hudson's River. Being thither brought, it appeared he had little to say to them, and at last, by the Intercession of Captain *Brockhurst*, they were sent back again to *Albany* with a Pass. It was now the 19th of November before they recovered that Stage.

And there they also met with no small Discouragements, by Rumors and other false Suggestions, sufficient to have diverted the most constant Undertakers from their Purpose, had they not been carried with an invincible Resolution. Thereabouts they tarried till about the 10th of December, in Expectation of having the Lakes, over which they were to pass, frozen hard enough to bear them. They found no small Difficulty in procuring a Pilot; Captain *Salisbury*, the Governor there, discouraging a Frenchman which they had hired from undertaking that Service, so as they were forced to agree with a

*Mohawk* Indian to conduct them to the first Lake, which was sixteen Leagues over, which he faithfully performed. It was about the 16th of December when they came thither; they found it open, but their Pilot finding a Canoe, fitted it up for them and drew for them a Draught of the Lakes by which they were to pass. They were three Days passing the first Lake, and then carrying the Canoe upon their Backs two Miles over a Neck of Land, they entered the Great Lake, which, the second Day, they hoping to trust to the Ice, left their Canoe, but having travelled one Day upon the Ice they were forced to return back to fetch their Canoe, and then went by Water till they came to the Land, being wind-bound six Days in the Interim; so as they made it about the first of January, having travelled three Days without a bit of Bread, or any other Relief but of some Raccoon's Flesh, which they had killed in a hollow Tree. On the 6th of January they came to *Shampley*, [*Chamblee*] a small Village of ten Houses, belonging to the French; only by the Way they met with a Bag of Biscuit and a Bottle of Brandy in an empty Wigwam, with which they were not a little refreshed; and in travelling towards *Sorrell*, fifty Miles distant from thence, they came to a lodging of Indians, amongst whom was *Steven Jennings* Wife, by whom they understood how hard it was with the Rest, yet resolved, according to Advice, to give them good Words, and hasten-

ed to bargain for their Redemption. At *Sorrell* they found five more of the Captives, two of which the Indians had pawned for Drink; the Remainder of them were in the Woods. From this Place they had two hundred Miles to *Kebeck*, [Quebeck] which in the next place they travelled to, where they were civilly entertained by the French Governor, who at the last granted them a Guard of eleven Persons towards *Albany*, whither they began to march on the 19th of April, 1678, and arrived there about the Middle of May following, having spent sixteen Days upon the Lake, two Days in crossing the Neck of Land betwixt the upper Branches of *Canada* and *Hudson's River*, which they came swiftly down in two Days more; the Rest of the Time they spent in hunting. They tarried at *Albany* from Wednesday, May 22d, till Monday following, from which they came on Foot twenty Miles to *Vanterhook*, [Kinderhook] where they were met with Horses and Men that carried them safely to *Westfield*, a few Days after. They brought with them nineteen Captives, which had been carried away by the Indians September before.<sup>252</sup> Their Ransom cost

<sup>252</sup> A List made at the Time of the Killed and Captivated is as follows: The Attack was made at 11 o'clock in the Morning. The Killed were Sergt. Graves, John Graves, John Atcheson, John Cooper, Philip Ruffell's Wife, John Colman's Wife and one of his Children, Samuel Kellogg's Wife, Samuel Billings's

Wife, a Child of John Wells, a Child of Philip Ruffell, a Child of Goodman Beldings: in all 12. Taken captive: John Colman and 2 Children, Goodwife Waite and 3 Children, Goodwife Foot and 2 Children, Goodman Jennings and 2 Children, Obadiah Dickinson and one of his Children, a Child of Saml,



above £200, which was gathered by Contribution among the English.<sup>253</sup>

Kellog, a Child of Wm. Bartlemow [Bartholomew], a Child of John Alline. Wounded: John Colman, a Child, John Wells his Wife and Daughter, and Obediah Dickinson's Wife. Buildings burnt: John Colmans Barn, John Allices [Ellis?] Barn, Obediah Dickinson's House, Benjamin Waite's House and Barn, and Samuel Kellog's House and Barn.

At Deerfield were taken, Jno. Plympton, Jr., John Root, Quintin Stockwell, Benoni Stebbins and a Child of Philip Ruffell. In all 21. This is the Substance of a Communication made by "Sam<sup>l</sup> Partridge," to the Authorities at Boston, and was found among the Archives in the State House. From another

Source we learn that Plympton was burnt alive, Root was killed, Stebbins made his escape, and Stockwell was ransomed, after extreme and protracted Sufferings.

<sup>253</sup> The exact Amount of Receipts and Expenditures was, according to the beforementioned Broadside, £345, 1s. 4d. And the Council mention other Collections in Places not heard from. Nothing can more forcibly impress us of the Reality of those Days of New England small Things than a View of the pecuniary Effort of the whole Country to raise the necessary Funds to redeem a few Captives out of Indian Bondage.





[73] **T**O this *Issue* were our *Troubles with the Indians* brought in the End of the Year 1676.

That which hath been already in that kind, may serve to give an Account of the Murthers, Slaughters, Captivities of several Persons of the English Inhabitants of *New-England*, together with the burning and spoyling of divers of their Villages and Houses, spoyling of their Estates, by those their perfidious and barbarous Enemies. That which remains, is only to satisfy the Inquisitive Reader about some other Particulars, which have a Relation unto or Dependence upon the former: as to shew what may be the principal and leading Causes, Civil or Moral, of those strange Successes of the Indians, in some of their first Encounters with the English there; what Presages or other ominous Accidents were observed aforehand, what Assistance they received from other Forreign Nations, *French*, or *Dutch*, what is since become of those Indians that were the Authors of the foresaid Mischiefs, what Progress Christian Religion hath already made, or is like further to make amongst the Rest, all which may serve as an Epilogue to the Tragical History foregoing.

It is no doubt but that (as sometimes was said of the Divisions of *Reuben*) there have been and are great Thoughts of Heart amongst them that wish well to this poor Country; for the Calamities that of late have here fallen out, every one taking Occasion to put that Construction upon what had hapned, which suits best with his own Understanding and Humour. Possibly those that live at a Distance have made many uncertain Gueſſes at Things which have paſſed here. For thoſe that lived upon the Place have very ſad Apprehenſions both concerning the Riſe and Iſſue of them. In a Matter therefore of ſo much Difficulty, to give the beſt Account we can of the Things under Debate: It cannot be denied but that Things ever ſince the Planting of theſe Colonies of *New England*, they have been ſignally bleſſed of God, and made to flouriſh above many other Forreign Plantations, both for the Number of Towns and Villages, Increaſe of Families, Growth of Trade, Flouriſhing of Religion, probably therefore, this ſudden and unexpected Turn of Providence, may occaſion many to think, that either there hath been ſome notable Declenſion from former Principles and Wayes, or elſe the World hath been [74] much abuſed by former Reports of our prosperous Proceedings here. But it ſhould be obſerved that Arguments taken barely from Succeſs, and the Event of Things, like *Cyphers* ſtanding alone and not joyned with others, as ſome have ſaid, do not increaſe the Number, when the whole Summe is to be made



up, they will signifie what they were intended for ; every thing is beautiful in its Season, but in the mean Time sad Events should rather be improved to our own Instruction, than the condemning of others : following the dark Cloud of Providence without the fiery Pillar of the Scripture, will lead into uncertain Paths. This is not the first Time that Christian People have been exposed to many Outrages, and barbarous Calamities from their Pagan Neighbours, to whom they have been many Ways officious. It is well known what hapned in the Neighbour Colony of *Virginia* on the twenty second of March, 1622. when by a general Conspiracy of the Indians three hundred and fourty seven Persons of the English Planters, were barbarously massacred ; at that Time when they had the greatest Hopes of converting them to Christianity ; yet need not this any where discourage charitable Endeavours that Way ; for if it had not been for one converted Indian, that revealed the Plot, in all likelihood all the Rest of the English there planted, had been in like Manner cut off at the same Time.<sup>254</sup> The Heathen in *New-England* are scituate in the same Climate, therefore cannot be supposed to be much differing in their Manners and Disposition. But besides that we are hemm'd in on both Sides, and almost round about, with People of Forriegn Nations, whose Designe is neither Religion, nor yet

<sup>254</sup> The Particulars of that great Massacre were recorded by the famous Founder and Historian of that Colony, Capt. John Smith ; it is therefore only necessary to refer our Readers to his *History of Virginia*, Vol. ii, Pages 71-76, *Richmond Edition*.

planting Colonies of Civil People, so much as present Emolument by Commerce and Traffick with the Indians, who notwithstanding their barbarous Manner of living, are yet furnished with some rich and useful Commodities, for the obtaining of which, those that come amongst them have not been unwilling to offer them in Way of Exchange, such Commodities, as the Indians most fancy and desire, as Powder and Amunition, not considering how Destructive the Trade thereof may prove to others, which hath made some wise Men both fear and foretell the dangerous Issue of trading those Things with the Indians here. It hath been said the *Hollanders* used so to deal with the *Spaniards*, at such Times as they had their fiercest Wars with them, saying, that if they did not others would carry those Commodities to their Enemies, which they thought they were as good to do themselves, that so in Case of bad Success in the Wars, the gain of the Barter might help to make amends for the Loss of the Battle. The same Reason possibly put them upon the like Practice in that Part of this Country called the *New-Netherlands*: for which [75] they have pretty well smarted themselves, as now they have helped others to do by their Example. Some prudent Gentlemen that governed in Virginia at the first, were aware of this Mischief; wherefore it was strictly forbidden them, upon pain of Death to shew an Indian the use of a Gun; if the like Course had been continued here, it had scarce

been possible according to the Eye of Reason that so much Mischief could have been done us by our Indian Neighbours, at this Time more than in former Years. Their Wills were as good heretofore, but when they had nothing but Bows and Arrows to trust unto, they were capable of no such Mischief: But now by their frequent Converse and Trading with the Dutch and French on each Side of us, they are as well skil'd in the use of small Artillery as many other Nations.

Their young Men so much delighting therein, that upon point they minde little else, and are so proud of their Skill, that they thought they could easily deal with, if not over-match their Masters that first instructed them.

It is reported by an Ancient Marriner yet living in these Parts, a Person of good Credit, that above twenty Years since being in the Eastern Parts about *Kennibeck*, he heard an old Indian tell this Story; that when he was a Youth, there was a Fort built about *Saga-de-Hock* (the Ruines of which were then shewn this Relater, supposed to be that called *St. Georges Fort* in honour of Captain *George Popham*, the President of the Company sent over *Anno*, 1607.) and possessed for some time by the English: But afterward upon some Quarrel that fell out betwixt the Indians and them, the English were some of them killed by the said Indians, and the Rest all driven out of the Fort, where there was left much of their Provision and Amunition; amongst which there

was some Barrels of Powder ; but after they had opened them, not knowing what to do therewith, they left the Barrels carelessly open, and scattered the Powder about, so as accidentally it took Fire, and blew up all that was within the Fort, burnt and destroyed many of the Indians, upon which they conceived their God was angry with them for doing hurt to the English. It had been well these Indians never had had any other Acquaintance with the Nature of that Commodity, then by such Experimental Knowledge of its Force and Power. But Covetousness was and will be the Root of all Evil in every Age of the World, of which this may be reckoned one, and not the least, that for the Sake of a little Lucre, Civil and Christian Nations have been induced to instruct a barbarous and salvage People, before ever they had been reduced to good Order or civil Manners, much less Christianity, in the Use of our Artillery [76] and furnish them likewise with Ammunition, to improve that Skill to the Destruction of themselves and their Posterity. *Thomas Morton* was said to be the first that like *Epimetheus* opened this *Pandora's Box*, but he was not the *Vulcan* that forged all their Guns, with other Weapons of War they are found so well furnished withall.

The Commissioners of our *United Colonies* have for a long Time carefully and seriously endeavoured the preventing this Inconveniency in every of the three Colonies, by strict Prohibition of



trading Amunition with the Indians; nor hath it been given way unto, till of late Years, when by the continual Solicitation of some of our own People (that possibly since have paid dearly for their forwardness therein) who alleadged the Example of the *French* and *Dutch*, and of some of our own Nation bordering upon us. The former Restraint hath been taken off, and it is verily supposed that as to some of our People, that in the last Infurrection of the *Indians* amongst us, have felt both the first and worst Part of their Rage and Cruelty; it was effected by the Amunition not long before purchased of themselves, which it may be was reserved for that very End and Purpose. It is no small Aggravation of the Misery befalling a Place or Person, when it is known to be brought about, by Means of their own projecting: As sometimes was said to the Tyrant slain by a Weapon of his own forging, *suo sibi hunc jugulo gladio.*

But if Enquiry be made into the moral and procuring Causes, whereby God hath been provoked to let loose the Rage of the Heathen thus against us, it is not hard to give an Answer. The Sovereign Ruler of the World need never pick a Quarrel with any Sort of Men (the best of his Servants at all Times giving him too just Occasion of Controversy with them) or be to seek of a Ground why to bring a Scourge upon them, having also the other holy Ends why he contends with his People, of which he is not bound to

render the World an Account : It may be Reason enough to work in them a Sympathy for the Sufferings and Calamities of others ; or to keep them from being *exalted above Measure* ; or to humble and prove them, that they should by their long Peace, and Prosperity be ready to look upon themselves as less Sinners than others, who have drunk deep of the Cup of Trembling before them : To prevent what Evil may, as well as reform what is already grown up amongst them. Standing Waters are most apt to corrupt. Gods Dispensations of this Nature in the World, are usually observed to be for Correction of the Vices, as well as for the Tryal of the Virtues found in his Servants. And what People or Person is there upon the Face of the Earth, who hath not Reason to lay their Hand upon their Mouths, and to abhor them[77]selves in Dust and Ashes, if the Almighty should go about to enter into Judgment with them : No doubt but after so long a Time of Peace and Prosperity, as hath been enjoyed, the like Corruptions have began to bud forth, as are usual in such a Case, as Pride, Luxury, Inordinate Love of the World, &c. Nor need He be instructed by Men, what Instruments to make use of, in the chastning of his People : Why may not God as well as *Gideon* teach the Men of *Succoth*, and of other Places, by the *Briers and Thorns of the Wilderiness*, if a more particular Indagation of the Original Offence in this Matter be expected.

All Things considered, it may be feared to spring from some Irregularities and Miscarriages in our Transactions and Dealings with the Indians themselves, according to that known Rule, *In quo quis peccat in eo punitur*, yet must not this be understood, so as to reflect upon the People of the *United Colonies* in the Gross: Whose *Supream Courts* in their several Jurisdictions, have endeavoured by the sharpest and severest Laws imaginable to prevent any Miscarriage of such a Nature; but it hath arisen only from such Places and Persons as border upon us round about, both Southward and Eastward, yet never were, nor would be, subject to the Laws of our Jurisdiction, nor had any *Reprover in the Gate*, or Magistrate to put the Offenders to Shame. Such as make the Advantage they have in their Hand the Rule for their Consciences to act by; it is no wonder if they be ready to transgress the Rules both of Sobriety and Righteousness in their Dealings with Men, as well as Piety before God. The Things that the Indians are more eager to Trade for, being known to be either strong Liquor or Powder, and Amunition. And many have been found indirectly and under hand to gratifie their Humour therein. The one hath proved always most hurtful to themselves, the other feared (and justly as it hath ever proved) most destructive to our selves. The more sober and prudent of the Indians have always most bitterly complained of the Trading of strong Liquor in our English, as

well as in the French and Dutch, whose ordinary Custome is first to make them, or suffer them to make themselves drunk with Liquors, and then to Trade with them, when they may easily be cheated both in what they bring to Trade, and in the Liquor itself, being one half or more nothing but *Spring Water*, which made one of the *Amosnoscoggin Indians* once complain that he had given an hundred pound for Water drawn out of Mr. *P. his Well*. But this is not all the Evil that attends this wicked Trade of strong Liquor, for when they are drunk therewith, they are ready to fight with their Friends, Parents, Brethren, &c. Yea, often have murdered one another. *Should I not be avenged on such a People*, [78] or Persons as these *saieth the Lord*? Good old *Jacob* sometimes complained after the Villany of his two Sons, committed upon the *Sechemites*, that he was made to *sink in the Sight of the People of the Land*, and that he should be *destroyed he and his House*: It is well if some of our *Borderers* have not had cause not only to fear, but to feel the like Calamity in Reference to themselves, or some of theirs, thus what hath been gotten over the Back of the evil Fiend is lost under his Belly, according to the *Proverb*.

Besides all this, it hath been observed of many of these scattering Plantations in our Borders, that many were contented to live without, yea, desirous to shake off all Yoake of Government, both sacred and civil, and so transforming them-



selves as much as well they could into the Manners of the Indians they lived amongst, and are some of them therefore most deservedly (as to Divine Justice) left to be put under the Yoke and Power of the Indians themselves, and hence it is that in many Parts, the People void of Council and common Prudence as well as Courage, have so frightfully deserted, or Cowardly delivered up several Places of Strength (though tenable enough of themselves) into the Hands of contemptible Enemies; and so like ripe Figs upon the first shaking of the Tree have been ready to fall into the *Mouth of the Eater*, as the *Prophet* speaks; as hath been too sadly verified in some of the Southern, and all the Eastern Parts.

If it be here objected that the same or like Calamities have befallen many of those Places and Persons where no such Evils could justly be complained of, it may as easily be answered, and that from the Observation of Heathen themselves, that in such publick Calamities, it is not easy to distinguish between the good and the bad, *sæpe Die spiter, iratus incesto addidit integrum*. The Righteous many Times have an equal Share with the Wicked. In these Cases saith Solomon, *all Things come alike to all, no Man knoweth Love or Hatred by all that is before him*: The confused Events of worldly Affairs, are oft times so limited and restrained by the holy Hand and wise Providence of God, that it is hard to find a Difference, therefore concerning such Places which

may be thought not touched with the Guilt of the forementioned Miscarriages, yet have by the overruling Hand of Providence been notwithstanding made to suffer as deeply as others. I judge them not, yet hope, if they have ought for which to judge themselves before him that searcheth the Hearts, they will take occasion hereby to humble themselves under the mighty Hand of God that in his due Time they may be exalted to their former Tranquility and Peace.

[79] When Gods Judgments are abroad in the Earth, then should the *Inhabitants of the World learn Righteousness*. This Caution is judged the more necessary here to be added, in that it is the general Observation of all indifferent and unconcerned Persons about the like Troubles: That they have ordinarily either begun, or have fallen heaviest upon those Places and Persons that have had most to do in the Trading with Indians.

If any such have as yet escaped their Hands, to be sure they have been threatned, as if they had been before others, particularly lookt upon by them, as the Object of their Revenge, which makes some moderate Persons Fear, that those Men have either themselves offended in that kind, or else have connived at others under them, to carry on the Traffick with the Indians, by such Ways and Means, that have been as well offensive to God, as injurious to those they have traded with.

In the second Place, touching the various Suc-

cess we have met withal, in our several Encounters with the Indians, Victory and Conquest did for a long Time seem to stand *Neuter*, and our Condition and Warfare not much unlike the Conflict between *Israel and Amelek* in the Wilderness, nor can it be denied but that our Enemies for a Time had great Success in their Outrages, Providence as it were seeming to offer them Opportunities of doing us much Mischief, when we could find none of taking just Revenge: Things of that Nature being strangely either hid from the Eyes of the Leaders, or else the Weather hath so fallen out as that it was not possible for our Men to have pursued them: Although both the Commanders and Souldiers, sent forth from all the three Colonies, have joyntly and severally pursued their Advantages, with incredible Hazard and Diligence, and with as invincible Courage as ordinarily hath been found amongst Men. But as it is said, the Battle is not always to the Strong, nor the Race to the Swift, but Time and Chance hath strangely interposed to the prolonging of our Miseries, and the hardning and emboldning of our Enemies: Much of our Disappointments, and the Loss of many of our Forces engaging with them, must be imputed in a great Measure to our Mens unacquaintedness with the Manner of their fighting, they doing most of their Mischiefs either by Ambushments, sudden Surprizals, or overmatching some of our small Companies with greater Numbers, having had many Times

fix or seven to one: Possibly also many of our Overthrows have proceeded from our too much Confidence in our own Weapons, Courage and Martial Discipline (Not making Allowance for the Difference of Times, when they before engaged us, only with Bows [80] and Arrows; but now came to fight us with our own Weapons) which hath proved no small Advantage to our Enemies, and Disadvantage to ourselves; or else to the Distance of our Towns one from the other, so as oftentimes they were destroyed, or in Danger thereof, before any Notice was taken of their Danger. If that be a sure Rule whereby Valour is to be judged *plus animi est inferenti periculum quam propulsante, sc.* that there is more Courage seen in the Assailants, than in the Defendants; a few of our Men have frequently defended themselves against Multitudes of them, unless at such Times when Providence seemed as it were to Trouble the Wheels of our Motions, and fight against us, so as ordinarily our People used not to want Courage: For at *Lancaster* where they seemed to have had the greatest Cause of boasting for their Success in any Assault (although it were since known, that they had five hundred fighting Men when they assaulted that small Town of about fifty Families) yet were they able to surprize but one Garrison House, which neither was fenced round, nor were the Defendants able to ply their Shot behind it, but so as the Enemy came to the very Walls, and Roof on the back



Side with their Fuel, or else they had never been able to have dispossessed the Inhabitants. The same Indians within awhile after, had not been able to have done the Mischief at *Groaton* which they did, had not a Garrison been unadvisedly as it were delivered into their Hands. In one Word they were more beholding to their perfidious Subtlety and Falsehood, or to the Advantage of Season, Place, and Number than any Valour or Courage in all their Victoryes, shewing only a Belluine Rage and Fierceness, when they had an Opportunity in their Hands to destroy or do Mischief. For soon after when the Time of Vengeance was come, and God seemed to own the Cause of his People, a small Handful of our Men hath surprized hundreds of theirs, as hath been already declared in the *Narrative*. The Dispensations of the Almighty have been very awful towards us, for a long Time, not seeming to go forth with our Armies, nor helping us in defending our selves, or defeating of our Enemies, as if he had a Purpose and Designe to bring a sharp Scourge upon us, by that Means to humble us, and prove us, and then (as we trust) to do us good in our latter End: acting therein as wise Parents that after they have corrected their Children, to cast the Rod into the Fire. For our Enemies to the Southward, were in the Beginning of these Troubles, possessed of many goodly *Havens*, many rich and fertile Places, as at *Mount-Hope*, and all along the *Narrbaganfit Country*.

But are by this Occasion, (quarrelling with us without Cause) themselves in a Manner all destroyed by the special Hand of God, and [81] their Posterity quite rooted out, as were the *Pequods* before them, whereby it may be gathered as we hope, that God is making way to settle a better People in their Rooms, and in their Stead; when the whole Frame of Gods Counsels, and Purposes are put together, and accomplished by the Issues of his Providence, it will, no doubt, appear a Work very beautiful in its Season, not only for the Glory of the Author but for the Good and Benefit of his People, that are concerned therein.

Something of that Nature hath been observed by some judicious Persons in Reference to the present Calamities, of which something hath already been published to the World,<sup>255</sup> concerning which I have nothing to add, only that some such Things have been affirmed by credible Persons, as Prefages of what hath lately come to pass. The Noyse of Guns is affirmed by many, to have been *heard in the Ayer*, in sundry Places not many Years before; concerning which the judicious Reader may take what Notice he pleaseth.<sup>256</sup> Although I would not be too forward in obtruding uncertain Reports upon the Belief of the far

<sup>255</sup> The Author probably has reference to Dr. I. Mather's *Brief History of the War*.

his Age, in mental Culture; an Age manacled with Superstition. And although he does not refer to the Stories of the Ship, and Sword seen in the Clouds, they were doubtless familiar to him.

<sup>256</sup> This Remark is Evidence that the Author was far in Advance of

distant Reader, especially considering how much the World hath oft been abused with false Coyne of the like Nature.

But for other Predictions of the present Calamities, some wise Men have thought it not unworthy to be communicated to Posterity what hath been observed amongst the Indians themselves, as if either God himself had left some Impression on the Minds of some of them this Way, or that by some strange Instinct or other, they had some Reason to forebode the Troubles now begun, although not yet ended, *sed dabit Deus his quoque finem*, in his own Time.

There was within the Compass of the last seven Years now current a *Sagamore* about *Kittary*, on the North-east Side of *Pascataqua River*, called *Rouls*,<sup>257</sup> or *Rolles*; who lying very sick, and bedrid, (being an old Man) he expected some of the English, that had seized upon his Land, should have shewn him that Civility, as to have given him a Visit in his aged Infirmities and Sickness. It matters not much, whether it was totally neglected or not; to be sure at the last, he sent for the chief of the Town, and desired a Favour of them, *viz.* that though he might, as he said, challenge all the Plantation for his own, where they dwelt, that yet they would please to sell or give him a small Tract of Land, possibly an hundred or two of Acres, and withal desired it might

<sup>257</sup> The same mentioned in a previous Page, who sold the Land about Berwick to Humphrey Chadbourne. See Note 237, *ante*.

be recorded in the Town Book as a publick Act, that so his Children which he left behind, might not be turned out, like Vagabonds, as destitute of an Habitation amongst or near the English, adding this as the Reason: That he knew [82] there would shortly fall out a War between the Indians and the English all over the Country, and that the Indians at the first should prevail, and do much Mischief to the English, and kill many of them; but after the third Year, or after three Years, all the Indians which so did, should be rooted out, and utterly destroyed.

This Story is reported by Major *Waldern*, Mr. *Joshua Moody*,<sup>258</sup> Captain *Frost*, that live upon, or near the Place. And one of the three forementioned Persons was desired by the said *Sagamore* to make a Record hereof. *Valeat quantum valere potest aut debet.* Many Stories of like Nature are confidently told, by such as have been more conversant with the Indians, which shewed that either the Conspiracy was a long while in contriving, or else that some Impression was by a Divine Hand made upon the Minds of some of them.

For the Actings of our Neighbour Nations round about us, whether they have had actually any Hand in our Sufferings, either instigating of our Enemies, or secretly and underhand supplying

<sup>258</sup> Mr. Moody was of Portsmouth, and deserves honorable Mention, as one of the Few who stemmed the overwhelming Current of the Witchcraft Delusion. An Ac-

count of him may be found in a little unpretending Volume, published by Mr. C. C. P. Moody of Boston in 1847, entitled *Biographical Sketches of the Moody Family*.



them with Necessaries wherewith to carry on their Designe against us, without whose Assistance, it is supposed they could hardly thus long have held out. It is no question but there are those in the World, that say, *Aha, at the Calamities of our Sion*, and that like *Edom in Jerusalems Day*, cry, *Rase it, Rase it, even to the Foundation thereof*: But for our near Neighbours, whether Dutch or French, their Designe in their several Plantations, being solely, or principally Trade, and knowing that as formerly they had, so may they still have more Benefit and Advantage by our Commerce and Traffick than by our Ruine; it seems therefore not so probable, that they should promote or Designe such a wicked End to themselves, much less that they should joyn with Pagan Infidels therein; more Charity we judge is due to them that profess the Christian Name, whatever Errour or Superstition their Religion or Worship may be blinded with.

We may well conceive that either of them would not be much unwilling to part with any Thing they have to sell for Beaver, nor would they very scrupulously enquire what the Indians do with their Powder, provided they could get their Pay for it, no more than the Cutler did, to know (as the Tale goes) what the Cutpurse did with the Knife he made him: But that purposely either of them have furnished our Enemies with Means to do us Mischief, we are not forward to believe.

As for the French at *Cannada* they live at too great a Distance to have much Commerce with our Enemies: And besides they are not themselves so secure of the Indians they deal with as to be forward to set them against others, lest thereby they come to learn the Way to [83] fall upon themselves. And besides it hath been affirmed by some of their own Nation, that not long since were there, and passed Home this Way, that they are more afraid of Attempts from hence, than we have Cause to be from them.

Other Reports possibly have been taken up concerning us, as if we were divided in our Counsels and were too tenacious of our Goods, and readier to keep them for our Enemies, than prudently to lay out what was Necessary for our own Defence and Preservation: No question but many such Rumours as these have taken place, in the Minds of some; but it is hoped that such as are wise and serious, will not give too much to sinister Reports till they are rightly informed. Greater Unity of Minde in Things of such a Nature, hath seldome been found amongst Men, that might all along have been observed here. If in any Thing propounded for the better carrying on the War against the Indians, there hath been some Difference of Apprehension either from the seeming Impossibility and Arduousness of the Attempt, or Difficulty of the Season; it never occasioned the least Remora of the Action, though

in Things of the greatest Moment. Nor was there ever any Difficulty in the disburſing what was Neceſſary for carrying on the Affairs of the War, how chargeable ſoever and expenſive it hath been found. The Scarcity of Coyne, hath occaſioned a little Trouble in ſome preſent Exigent, otherwiſe no Reaſon hath been given of any juſt Complaint this Way. But it being the uſual Lot of them that are moſt ſorely afflicted of God, to be moſt deeply cenſured of Men, but we muſt expect to paſs through evil as well as good Report.

Poſſibly alſo ſome may here take notice of a very diſtinguiſhing Providence in theſe our late Troubles, in that this Rod of Affliction hath ſeemed not to ly in an equal Proportion upon the Body of the People of *New-England*; which is no new Thing to obſerve in Calamities of this Nature; wherein it is very ordinary for thoſe Parts of a Country that lye next bordering upon the Coaſt of the common Enemy to be moſt obnoxious to their Incurſions, and to be more frequently then others harneſſed [harracted?] thereby; as hath been the Caſe of us here in theſe Parts of the Earth, ever ſince the firſt planting thereof. The great Numbers of the Salvages being ſwept away by ſome unuſual Mortality in all thoſe Places, where the Body of the People that came over hither firſt ſeated themſelves; ſo as they were not ſo lyable to their Injuries and Inſolencies, as thoſe were, who not long after were called to

plant the more remoter Parts of the Country, where were greater Numbers of them left: Which was the Occasion that the said Colony of *Connecticut* was then sorely afflicted with the *Pequods* at their first planting, when above thirty of them fell into the [84] Hands of those cruel Miscreants, they bordering next or near upon them, so as they had an Opportunity to assault them in their first Attempt for planting that Side of the Country, as sometimes *Amalek* did unto *Israel* of old. Further also it may be considered, that our Brethren of *Connecticut* have had no small Part of this present Tryal, in that they have been necessarily called to lend their Assistance to the other Colonies, which they have upon all Occasions (to their Honour be it spoken) most readily and freely done, not only by their Articles of Confederation, but as they were of Necessity constrained in common Prudence for their own Safety to do, *jam proximus ardet Vcalegon*: He that will not help to quench the Fire in his Neighbours House, may justly fear to lose his own. It may truly be said also, that they have had their turn in like Troubles at the first Hand, their Fleeces being only watered with a like bloody Showre, when the Ground all about was dry; as now the Contrary hath seemed to fall out. To be short we are all but one political Body, which ought to be sensible of the Sorrows that befell any particular Members thereof: We all came over into those Parts of *America*, with



one and the same End and Aim, viz. to enjoy the Liberty of the Gospel in Unity and Peace, and to advance the Kingdome of our *Lord Jesus Christ*, and being in our first settling (by the wise Providence of God) farther disposed upon the Sea Coasts and Rivers, then was at first intended, so that we could not, according to our Desire, communicate, in our Government and Jurisdiction, and being likewise where we live, encompassed with People of several Nations, which may prove injurious, as they have formerly committed Insolencies, and Outrages upon several of our Plantations, we were necessitated to enter into a Confociation amongst ourselves for mutual Help and Strength in such Concernments as have now fallen out, as is expressed in the Preface to the Articles of Confederation, agreed upon May twenty ninth, 1643.

In the last Place, upon the Consideration of these late Uproars amongst the Indians, some may be like to enquire, what is become of the Conversion of the Natives, so much famed abroad, and what Progress the Gospel hath made amongst them, fearing (as well they may) it is like to be not a little obstructed hereby.<sup>259</sup> It may probably be supposed, that the pious Endeavours of some to

<sup>259</sup> There will be found in the Author's *History of New England* a Chapter devoted to "the Success and Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England." See also Vol. xxiv, *Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls.*

preach the Gospel amongst several of the Indian Natives, hath given the first Occasion of the Quarrel, as usually it hath done in the World. But that Opposition meeting with no better Success in the Southern Parts, than the Ruine of those that made the first Rebellion against us, Satan hath lately changed himself into an Angel of Light, under that Shape, making this his last Attempt, to the Eastward. [85] For the chief Leader of those Indians is a Sagamore called *Squando*, who hath (as is said by them that lately escaped from their Hands) familiar Converse with the Prince of Darkness, though under the Notion of a good Deity, putting him upon a Form of Religion, and forbidding any Acts of Cruelty and and Murther to be used against any they oppose, if they be willing to yeild, and in that Way promising great Success to his Followers; what the Issues of his Proceedings will be, God only knows, and a little Time may discover: But for those that before these Troubles have professedly owned the Christian Name, many of them have given notable Proof of their sincerity, by fighting against their, and our Enemies, and have been very successful in their Endeavours: As well these in the upper Parts of *Cape-Cod*, commonly called Cape Indians, as those about *Natick* and *Hassina-meset*, within the *Massachusetts* Jurisdiction. It is not my Purpose to enlarge much on this Hand, that I might not raise the Expectation of the

World to greater Matters than for the present do appear.

There are about six Societies of Indians in the Country, who have professedly owned themselves Christians.<sup>260</sup> In every one of which it is supposed there are some that do make a serious Profession of the Christian Religion. The Salvation of whose Souls is worth far more Pains and Cost than ever yet was laid out upon that Work.

It is not a small Thing, that in these dark Places of the Earth, which in all Ages past, since Mankind had any Knowledge thereof, have been full of Nothing but the Habitations of Cruelty, the Light of the Gospel should take so much Place, as to cause any Number of those Vassals of Satan where he so long hath had his Throne, professedly to own the Name of the *Lord Jesus Christ*. What Harvest is like to be of the Body of them, in the present, or in the future Time, is not for any of us to speak: Neither at what Hour, or under what Viall, they shall be sent to labour in God's Vineyard, lest we should thereby seem to intrench upon the Sovereignty of the Almighty, in whose Hands are the Time and Season of Grace, as well as of Nature. There are many Nations in the World, to this Day, lying out from

<sup>260</sup> Gen. Gookin gives the following Account of the Praying Indian Towns, which he denominates the "Old Praying Towns:" Wamefit (formerly Chelmsford, chiefly included in Lowell); Nashobah

(now sufficiently pointed out by Nashua); Hassanamesit (Grafton); Makunkokoag (Hopkinton); Natick; Punkapog (Stoughton); and Okkonimesit (Marlborough). Gookin's *Historical Collections*.

the Kingdome of the *Lord Jesus*, who were never yet known professedly to own his Scepter, although probably the Gospel hath at some Time or other been preached unto them, or sent amongst them. It may be, only to be a Testimony unto them, and so to leave them without Excuse another Day.

Whether any farther End in Reference to these amongst ourselves is aimed at, in the wise and unsearchable Counsels of the great God, is known only to himself, and may be thought more convenient for him that writes, and them that read the present Narrative, to leave to the [86] after Determination of future Events, rather than to intrude our selves into that which is out of our Line, or beyond our Sphere. Thus much without Offence may be affirmed, that in all the habitable Places of the Earth, wherever God hath, or ever had a People calling upon his Name, never any notable Work of Religion was known to take much Place, where some Kind of Civility, and Culture of good Manners, had not gone before.

*Adde quod ingenuas, didicisse Fideliter Artes :  
Emollit mores, nec finit esse feros.*

God in his natural Providence, hath taught the Husbandman to plough the Ground, to break and open the Clods thereof, before he casts in the Seed : In the Dispensation of his Grace he usually



observes the same Method to break up the fallow Grounds of the Nations of the World, and not to sow among Thorns. When he that sits upon the white Horse, with his Bow and his Crown, and went forth conquering and to conquer, it was amongst the civil, and not amongst the barbarous and salvage Nations of the World: They that preach the Gospel else will have a double Task (the least of which hath been found hard enough for the best of Men, *Who is sufficient for these Things?* saith *St. Paul*) the great Apostle of the Gentiles, to convert Men, First, from salvage Paganisme, then to Christianity. It is commonly said that the Turks will not admit a Jew to become a Mahometan, till he hath first turned Christian. To be sure we rarely find any Gentile Nation turned Christian before they became humane, Divine Providence hath improved the Roman Sword to make way for the Scepter of the Gospel of Peace. That Civility that is found amongst the Natives of this Country, hath hitherto been carryed on and obtained, only by the gentle Means of Courtesy, Familiarity, and such like civil Behaviour, which in other Places was never yet attended with any eminent Success that Way. It seems some religious Gentleman in *Virginia*, had great Hopes of the Conversion of the Indians to Christianity, a little before the Massacre there. The Means principally used by them was Familiarity and Kindness: One Mr. *Thorpe*<sup>261</sup> well

<sup>261</sup> Mr. *George Thorpe*. He lived at Burkley Hundred, five Miles from

reputed for Religion, and in Command of one of the principal in *Virginia*, did so truly affect the Conversion of the Indians there, that whosoever under him did them the least Displeasure, were punished severely. He thought Nothing to deare for them : And to content them in all Things, he caused many English Mastives to be killed, and would have taken a Course to have sufficiently tamed the Rest. He conferred often with their great Sachem about Religion, and made him confess that the English Mans [87] God was better than the Indians : This Gentleman out of his good meaning was so full of Confidence and void of Suspition, that he would never believe any Hurt of them, till he felt their cruel Hands imbrued in his own Blood ; they barbarously murdering him among the Rest. Mr. *Stockain*<sup>262</sup> a serious and judicious Minister in *Virginia* and pious also, for ought is here of his Life, at that Time when all Things were so prosperous there, and the Salvages were thought to be at the Point of Conversion, against the Opinions of all others, both Governour and Council, wrote his Mind to the Council and Company in England about this Point in these Words.

‘ For the Conversion of the Salvages, I wonder  
‘ you use not the Means : I confess you say well to

Charles City. Ten others were murdered with him. He was a Gentleman of Consideration, and one of a Council of Seven sent over as Regulators on the Assumption of

the Treasurership of Virginia by the Earl of Southampton (Henry Wriothesley).

<sup>262</sup> “ Master *Jonas Stockam*,” according to Capt. Smith.

' have them *converted by fair Means* ; but they scorn  
 ' to acknowledge it. As for the Gifts bestowed  
 ' on them, *they devour them*, and so they would the  
 ' *Givers* if they could : Many have endeavoured  
 ' by Kindness to convert them, yet find nothing  
 ' from them but Derision and ridiculous Answers :  
 ' We have sent Boyes among them to learn their  
 ' Language, but they return worse than they  
 ' went : But I am no States Man, nor love I to  
 ' meddle with any thing but my Books. But I  
 ' can find no probabiltiy, by this Course to draw  
 ' them to Goodness : And I am perswaded if  
 ' *Mars and Minerva* go Hand in Hand, they will  
 ' effect more Good in an Hour than those *verbal*  
 ' *Mercurians* in their Lives : Adding that there  
 ' will be no Hope of their Conversion till their  
 ' *Priests*<sup>263</sup> (possibly he meant their *Powaws*) be  
 ' removed from them. The natural Barbarous-  
 ' ness and Perfidioufness of their Disposition may in  
 ' Part be gathered by this Story.'

When some of *Pocasset* Indians in *Plimouth*  
 Jurisdiction had professed their Services to Cap-  
 tain *Church* ; as they were in Pursuit of the In-  
 dians our Enemies, one of the said Indians from  
 the Top of an Hill discerned a Company of *Wig-*  
*wams*. where those they went to seek, had taken  
 up their Stations, he called to his Captain, and  
 pointing to one of the outermost Wigwams, told

<sup>263</sup> After *Priests* the Letter thus bring them to Conversion." By  
 closes : "and Ancients have their *Priests* and *Ancients* Powaws and  
 Throats cut, there is no Hope to old People are meant.

him that was *his Fathers Wigwam*, and ask'd if he must now go and *kill his Father*? No saith Captain *Church*, do but shew me where he is and I will deal with him; do you fall upon some others: to which the said Indian only replied in broken English. That *very good speak*; whereby their natural Perfidiousness even to their nearest Relations may be observed, which makes their Treachery towards us their Foreign Neighbours, the less to be wondred at.<sup>264</sup> And therefore till they be reduced to more Civility, some wise Men are ready to fear Religion will not take much Place amongst the Body of them.

Likewise when *Philip* was kept in the Swamp at *Pocasset*, it is certainly affirmed that several of their young Children were killed by them-[88] selves, that they might not be betrayed by their Crying, or be hindred with them in their Flight, when they made their Escape.<sup>265</sup>

The generality of the Indians in *New-England* are in their Manners and natural Disposition, not much unlike those in *Virginia* living much in the same Climate; who have likewise made an Insurrection much about the same Time this Year, as our Indians did with us: But God who is able to graft in again the unbelieving Jews, is able also of *these Stones to raise up Children unto Abraham*: And if it be the Pleasure of the Sovereign Lord

<sup>264</sup> This Circumstance is not related in Capt. Church's History by his Son.

<sup>265</sup> I do not remember to have seen this stated by any other Author; yet it is not unlikely to be true.



of Heaven and Earth to impart the Salvation of the Gospel to any of these, far be it from any of us to repine at his Grace, or neglect any due Means lying in our Capacity or reach to help forward that blessed Work. Who knows what Tendency the present Troubles may have to such an End. For though a great Number that are implacable and embittered against us in their Spirits, may be for the Sake of our Religion, found hardened to their own Destruction; yet a Remnant may be reserved, and afterward called forth, by the Power of the Gospel, to give *Glory to the God of all the Earth.*

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